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EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN

Down to the Mahomedan Conquest

BY

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PREFACE.

IN this second edition of the "Early History of the Dekkan," I have embodied the results of fresh researches published by others and myself within the last ten years. Some of my own have, however, been laid before the public now for the first time in this book.

R. G. B.

Poona, 10th January, 1895.

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CORRECTIONS.

<i>Page</i>	<i>22, line</i>	<i>G from bottom,</i>	<i>for Vāśiṣṭīputra read Vāśiṣṭīputra</i>
"	29 "	23 " "	" Śrī & Śrī, <i>here</i> " Śrī <i>as elsewhere</i>
"	36 "	5 " "	" Yajña " Yajña
"	" "	18 " "	" paid " said
"	39 "	12 " top	" Guṇādhyā " Guṇādhyā
"	55 "	11 " bottom	" Gurjara " Gurjara
"	" "	22 " "	" Trakṣaka " Trakṣaka
"	57 "	27 " top	" Āśadhā " Āśadhā
"	58 "	11 " "	" Paṭṭadakal, <i>here</i> " Paṭṭadakal <i>as elsewhere.</i>
"	59 "	9 " "	" Vinayaditya " Vinayaditya
"	60 <i>lines 6 & 11</i>	" "	" Brahmanism " Brahmanism & Brahmanism
"	" <i>line</i>	7 " "	" in the Southern " in Southern
"	62 "	4 " "	" Yādū " Yādū
"	" "	8 " "	" Rāshtrakūṭa " Rāshtrakūṭa
"	65 "	6 " "	" Pāṭhaṇ, <i>here as</i> " Pāṭhaṇ <i>elsewhere.</i>
"	67, marginal note.		" Sarva " Sarva
"	" <i>line</i>	34 from top	" Nārāyaṇa " Nārāyaṇa
"	68 "	5 " "	" Śilāhāra " Śilāhāra
"	69, marginal note.		" Kṛishṇa, <i>here as</i> " Kṛishṇa <i>elsewhere.</i>
"	74. <i>line</i>	17 from top	" Kharepāṭaṇ, <i>here</i> " Kharepāṭaṇ <i>as elsewhere.</i>
"	" "	22 " "	" doubt " doubt
"	75 "	10 " "	" Kālanjara " Kālanjara
"	79 "	4 " "	" Tailapa " Tailapa
"	86 "	5 " bottom	" Gaddaka, <i>here as</i> " Gaddag <i>elsewhere</i>
"	103 "	13 " "	" Singhaṇa " Singhaṇa
"	105 "	12 " "	" Śaktimuktavali " Śaktimuktavali
"	106 "	12 " "	" Sakt-, <i>here as</i> " Sakt- <i>elsewhere.</i>

EARLY HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN.

INTRODUCTORY.

INDIA has no written history. Nothing was known till within recent times of the political condition of the country, the dynasties that ruled over the different provinces which composed it, and the great religious and social revolutions that it went through. The historical curiosity of the people was satisfied by legends. What we find of a historical nature in the literature of the country before the arrival of the Mahomedans comes to very little.

Introductory.

I. We have a chronicle of Kaśmīr called the *Rājatarāṅgi*, in which, however, there is a good deal which is not supported by contemporary evidence. Now and then, a bountiful prince or minister found a poet to sing his glories; and the works thus composed, contain a good deal of historical information, though, of course, an undue praise of the patron and his ancestors is to be expected. But a few such works only have hitherto been discovered; and the oldest of them gives an account of a prince who lived in the first half of the seventh century. The literature of the Jainas of the *Svetāmbara* sect contains accounts mostly of the later princes of Gujurāt and other noted personages. There are also similar accounts of the princes of Rājaputāna. In the beginning or at the end of some Sanskrit works the names of the princes under whose patronage or in whose reign they were composed, are given; and sometimes we find a long genealogy of the family to which the particular prince belonged, with some short observation with reference to each of his ancestors. Lastly, the *Purāṇas* contain genealogies of the most powerful royal families which ascend to a higher antiquity than the works noticed hitherto.

II. But the information to be gathered from all these sources is extremely meagre; and there are many provinces on the history of which they do not throw any light. And the facts mentioned in them cannot be systematically arranged, or even chronologically connected, except with the assistance of other sources of information to which we shall now proceed. The invasion of Alexander the

Introductory. Great brought the Greeks in contact with the Hindus; and his successors in Syria kept up an intercourse with the Indian emperors for a long time. The notices of Indian persons and events contained in the writings of the Greeks, when compared with the statements occurring in the Purāṇas, admit, in some cases, of an easy identification; and from the known dates of the corresponding Greek persons or events, we are able to determine those of the Indian persons or events. In this manner the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty by Chandragupta has been determined to be about 322 B.C., and a good many other dates in Indian history have been ascertained. The writings of Chinese authors also throw a great deal of light on some periods of Indian history. Buddhism was introduced into China in the first century of the Christian era; and from time to time men from that country came to India as pilgrims; and some Indian Buddhists also must have found their way to China. The Chinese pilgrims wrote accounts of what they saw and did in India, and these works, which have come down to us, are very valuable for the elucidation of Indian history. The Chinese possessed a perfect system of chronology, and the dates of the pilgrimages are useful for the purposes of the Indian antiquarian. Valuable accounts of India written by the Arabic visitors to the country in the Middle Ages have also become available.

III. Another very important source, and fuller than any hitherto noticed, consists of inscriptions. Some of these are cut on stones or rocks, and others engraved on copperplates. These last are in all cases charters conveying grants of land made mostly by princes or chiefs to religious persons or to temples and monasteries. A great many of these are dated in one of the current eras. It is usual in these charters to give the pedigree of the grantor. The names of his ancestors together with some of their famous deeds are mentioned. As the authors who composed the grants cannot be expected to be impartial in their account of the reigning monarch, much of what they say about him cannot be accepted as historically true. And even in the case of his ancestors, the vague praise that we often find, must be regarded simply as meaningless. But when they are represented to have done a specific deed, such as the conquest of Harshavardhana by Pulakesi II. of the early Chālukya dynasty, it must be accepted as historical; and when we have other sources available, we find the account confirmed, as Hwahan. Thsang does that of Pulakesi's exploit. Even in the case of the reigning monarch, the specific deeds such as wars with neighbouring princes, which are mentioned, may be accepted as historical; though, however,

legitimate doubts may be entertained as regards the reported results. **Introductory.**

The stone-inscriptions are intended to commemorate the dedication of a temple or monastery or any part thereof, and of works of public utility such as tanks and wells, and sometimes grants of land also. A good many of these benefactions are by private individuals; but not seldom the name of the king, in whose reign the dedication was made, is given together with the year of his reign, as well as the date in the current era. When it is a royal benefaction that is commemorated, we have a longer account of the reigning prince, and sometimes of his ancestors.

The great pioneer in the deciphering and interpretation of inscriptions was James Prinsep; but no great progress was made after him, in this branch of antiquarian work, till the establishment of the "Indian Antiquary" and the institution of the Archæological Survey. These gave a strong impetus to it, and many scholars entered into the field with zeal. Twenty years ago, it would have been impossible to write the following pages.

IV. I must not omit to mention old coins as a valuable source of information as to the names of the successive monarchs of a dynasty, and sometimes their dates. A study of these too has led to very important results.

The materials for the history of the development of Indian thought and of changes in the social condition are the whole literature itself. But this is an independent inquiry with which we are not here directly concerned; and the conclusions arrived at are applicable to the whole Hindu race, and not to any particular province. I have consulted general literature only in discussing points concerning the Āryan settlement of the Dekkan. The materials used in the preparation of the other sections, which fall under each of the four classes noticed above, are as follows :

I.—Bilhana's *Vikramāṅkacharita*, Introduction to the *Vratakhaṇḍa*, Introduction to Jahana's anthology, the Purāṇic genealogies; and scattered notices in the *Kathāsaritāsāgara*, *Hala's Saptasāti*, *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*, *Kavirahasya*, *Digambara* Jaina works—such as the *Harivaṃśa*, the *Uttara Purāṇa*, the *Yasastilaka*, the *Praśnot-tararatnamālikā* &c.—*Vijñāneśvara's Mitāksharā*, the *Abhilashitārthachintāmaṇi*, the *Basava Purāṇa*, the *Lekhapañchāsikā*, the *Saddārpavachandrikā*, the *Jñāneśvari*, and a few others.

II.—Ptolemy's geography, the *Periplus*, *Hwen Tsang's Itinerary*.

III.—Inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India; *Rudradāman's* inscription at *Junāgaḍ*; stone inscriptions in the Southern *Maratha* Country; copperplate charters of the early *Chālukyas*, the

Introductory.

Rāshtrakūṭas, and other dynasties, of which we have now a large number.

IV.—Coins of the Sātavāhanas found at Kolhāpur and in the lower Godāvari district.

Since the political history of the Dekkan before the advent of Mahomedans was entirely unknown before, and the difficulty of ascertaining facts is very great, my object has been to collect as many of them as possible. The absence of proportion in the space allotted to important and unimportant events due to this circumstance, will, it is hoped, be excused. This does not pretend to be a literary* production, but merely a congeries of facts.

SECTION I.

ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD "DEKKAN" AND ITS DENOTATION.

THE word "Dakkhan" represents the vernacular pronunciation of the Sanskrit word *Dakṣiṇa*, meaning "southern," used to designate the portion of the Indian Peninsula lying to the south of the Narmadā. The name more usually met with in Sanskrit works and elsewhere is *Dakṣiṇāpatha* or "the Southern Region." That this name was in ordinary use in ancient times is shown by the fact that the author of the *Periplus* calls that portion of the country *Dakhinabades*.¹ In the vernacular or *Prākṛit* speech of the time, the Sanskrit *Dakṣiṇāpatha* must have become *Dakṣiṇābadha* or *Dakṣiṇāvadha* by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation. The shorter form of the name also must have been in use, since in the beginning of the fifth century of the Christian era, *Fah-Hian*,² the Chinese traveller, was told at Benares that there was a country to the south called *Ta-Tsin*, which word corresponds to the Sanskrit *Dakṣiṇa*.

Section I.

Etymology
of the word
"Dekkan."

Denotation
of the word
Dekkan.

Dakṣiṇāpatha or *Dakṣiṇa* was the name of the whole peninsula to the south of the Narmadā. Among the countries enumerated in the *Mārkaṇḍeya*,³ *Vāyu*,⁴ and *Mātsya*⁵ *Parāṇas* as comprised in *Dakṣiṇāpatha* are those of the Cholas, *Pāṇḍyas*, and *Keralas*, which were situated in the extreme south of the peninsula, and correspond to the modern provinces of *Tanjor*, *Madura*, and *Malabār*. In the *Mahābhārata*, however, *Sahadeva*, the youngest of the *Pāṇḍu* princes, is represented in his career of conquest to have gone to *Dakṣiṇāpatha* after having conquered the king of the *Pāṇḍyas*.⁶ This would show that the country of the *Pāṇḍyas* was not included in *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. Again, the rivers *Godāvarī* and others springing from the *Sahyādri* are spoken of in the *Vāyu Parāṇa* as rivers of *Dakṣiṇāpatha*,⁷ while the Narmadā and the *Tāpī* are not so styled; whence it would seem that the valleys of those rivers were not included in *Dakṣiṇāpatha*. The word thus appears not to have been always used in the same sense. In modern times it is the name of the country between the Narmadā on the north and a variable line along the course of the *Kṛishṇā* to the south, exclusive of the provinces lying to the extreme east. It is thus almost identical

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, VIII. 143.

² *Travels of Fah-Hian* by S. Beal, 139.

³ Chap. 37 Verse 45, Edition *Bibliotheca Indica*. The reading of the second line, however, is wrong. It ought to be, *Pāṇḍyāś cha Keralāś chaiva Cholaḥ Kūlyas tathaiś cha*, as it is in the manuscript I have consulted.

⁴ Chap. 45 Verse 124, Edition *Bibliotheca Indica*.

⁵ Chap. 112 Verse 46, Poona Lithographed Edition.

⁶ *Sahbhāgavan*, Chap. 31 Verse 17, Bombay Edition.

⁷ Chap. 45 Verse 104, Ed. Bib. Ind.

Section I.

with the country called Mahārāshṭra or the region in which the Marāṭhī language is spoken, the narrow strip of land between the Western Ghāts and the sea being excluded. A still narrower definition is that which excludes from this tract the valleys of the Narmadā and the Tāpī; and to this extent we have seen that there is authority for it in the Vāyu Purāṇa. Thus the word Dekkan expresses the country watered by the upper Godāvari and that lying between that river and the Kṛishṇā. The name Mahārāshṭra also seems at one time to have been restricted to this tract. For that country is, in the Purāṇas¹ and other works, distinguished on the one hand from Aparānta or Northern Konkan, and from the regions on either side of the Narmadā and the Tāpī inhabited by the Pulindas and Sābaras, as well as from Vaidarbha on the other. In a comparatively modern work entitled Ratnakośa,² Mahārāshṭra, Vaidarbha, Tāpī-tata-deśa and Narmadā-tata-deśa (i. e., the countries on either side of those rivers), and the Konkan are spoken of as distinct from each other. The Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra in this the narrowest sense of the word forms the subject of the present notice.

¹ See the chapters of the three Purāṇas referred to in the notes on page I.

² Prof. Aufrecht's Catalogue of Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, 352.

SECTION II.

SETTLEMENT OF THE ĀRYAS IN THE DEKKAN.

It is now a recognised fact that the Āryas who came to India were at first confined to eastern Afghanistan and the Panjāb. Thence they emigrated to the east and for a time the easternmost province occupied by them was Bramhāvarta or their holy land, lying between the rivers Sarasvatī the modern Sarasutī, and Drishadvatī,¹ a stream in the vicinity, that is, the country about Thanesar. There the system of castes and orders and the sacrificial religion seem to have been fully developed. Thence they spread to the east and the south, and gradually occupied the whole country between the Himālaya and the Vindhya. This last mountain range must for a long time have formed the southern boundary of their settlements. For the name Āryāvarta or the region occupied by the Āryas, as explained by Manu² and even by Patañjali,³ the author of the Mahābhāṣya on Pāṇini's grammar, signified exclusively the part of the country situated between those mountain ranges. The Vindhya, which by its height seemed to obstruct the passage of the sun, was impassable to them. The name Pāriyātra was given to the more northern and western portion of the range from which the rivers Chambal and Betvā take their rise, probably because it was situated on the boundary of their Yātrā or range of communication. After a while, however, the sage Agastya, in poetical language, bade the mountain not to grow high, that is, crossed it and established an Āśrama or hermitage to the south and thus led the way to other settlements. The first or oldest Āryan province in the southern country must have been the Vidarbhas or the Berārs. For in the Rāmāyana when Sugriva the monkey-king sends his followers to the different quarters in search of Rāma's wife Sitā and Rāvana her ravisher, he directs them to go among other southern countries to Vidarbhas, Richikas, and Mahishakas, and also to Daṇḍakāraṇya (the forest of Daṇḍakā) and the river Godāvārī.⁴ This shows that while the country about the Godāvārī, that is, the Dekkan or Mahārāṣṭra in the narrowest sense of the terms, was a forest, Vidarbha was an inhabited country. In the Mahābhārata also Agastya is represented to have given a girl that he produced by his miraculous powers to the king of Vidarbha, and after she had grown to be a woman demanded her of the king in marriage.⁵ In the Rāmāyana, Rāma is represented to have lived for a long time in Daṇḍakāraṇya, at a place called Pañchavati situated on the banks

Section II.

Settlement of
the Āryas in
the Dekkan.

Vidarbha, the
first Āryan
province in the
South.

¹ Manu, II. 17.

² Manu, II. 23.

³ Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya under Pāṇini, II. 4, 10.

⁴ Rāmāyana, IV, Chap. 41, Bombay Edition.

⁵ Mahābhārata, Bombay Edition, III. Chap. 96, 97.

Section II.

Dandakaranya,
the same as
Mahārāshtra.

Pañchavaṭī.

The complete
subjugation of
Mahārāshtra by
the Āryas, proved
by the prevalent
dialect of the
country.

of the Godāvari about two yojanas from the hermitage of Agastya.¹ That this Dandakāraṇya was the modern Mahārāshtra is shown by the fact stated above, that it was watered by the river Godāvari, and by several others. According to the Hindu ritual it is necessary when beginning any religious ceremony to pronounce the name of the country in which it is performed. The Brāhmins in Mahārāshtra do not utter the name Mahārāshtra but Dandakāraṇya with the word *deśa* or "country" attached to it. In the introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda, a work written more than six hundred years ago, Devagiri, the modern Daulatābād, is spoken of as situated in a district on the confines of Dandakāraṇya. Nāsik claims to be the Pañchavaṭī where Rāma lived. But the poet could hardly be expected to have brought his hero from the Vindhya to such a remote westerly place as Nāsik. The river Godāvari must, from the description occurring in the Rāmāyana as well as in Bhavabhūti's Uttara Rāmcharita, have been wide at Rāma's Pañchavaṭī. It could hardly have been so at Nāsik, which is very near its source. On the other hand, "the region about the northern part of the Sahyādri through which flowed the river Godāvari and in which Govardhana was situated" is in the Purāṇas represented as "the most charming on earth; and there, to please Rāma, the sage Bhāradvāja caused heavenly trees and herbs to spring up for his wife's enjoyment, and thus a lovely garden came into existence."² In the Mārkaṇḍeya, Govardhana is spoken of as a town; but the Vāyu and the Mātsya seem to mean it to be a mountain. This Govardhana must, from the given position, be the same as the village of that name near Nāsik; and thus the three Purāṇas must be understood as supporting the identification of Pañchavaṭī with Nāsik.

But though Mahārāshtra was the last country occupied by the Indian Āryas, their subjugation of it was no less thorough than that of all the northern countries. Here, as there, they drove some of the aborigines to the fastnesses of mountains and jungles, and incorporated the rest into their own society. The present Marāṭhī language is as much an offshoot of the Sanskrit as the other languages of Northern India. The ancient representatives of these dialects—the Mahārāshtrī, the Sauraseni, and the Māgadhi, as well as an earlier form of speech, the Pāli—show extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, reducible however to a few general laws. These cannot be accounted for by the natural operation of the causes which bring about the decay of a language spoken throughout its history by the same race. For, this operation is slow and must be in continuance for a very long time in order to produce the wide-going phonetic changes which we observe in those Prākṛit dialects, as they are called. This long-continued process must at the same time give rise to a great many changes in other respects. Such,

¹ Rāmāyana, III. 13, 13 Bom. Ed.

² Mārkaṇḍeya, Chap. 67 Verses 34-35; Vāyu, Chap. 45 Verses 112-114; and Mātsya, Chap. 112 Verses 37-39. The passage, however, is corrupt. The three Purāṇas evidently derive their reading from the same original, but the text has been greatly corrupted. The most ancient version of it seems to be that in the Vāyu

Section II. Prākṛit Dialects.

The subjugation
of the country
farther South,
partial.

however, we do not find in those dialects, and they do not in those respects show a very wide departure from the Sanskrit. The extensive corruptions of Sanskrit sounds, therefore, must be accounted for by the supposition that the language had to be spoken by races whose original tongue it was not. Those alien races could not properly pronounce the Sanskrit words used by the conquering Āryas; and thus the Prākṛit forms of Sanskrit words represent their pronunciation of them. A few sounds unknown to Sanskrit as well as some words not traceable to that language are also found in the Prākṛits, and these point to the same conclusion. It thus appears that the Indian Āryas in their progress through the country came in contact with alien races, which were incorporated with their society and learnt their language, at the same time that they preserved some of their original words and phonetic peculiarities. This was the state of things in the north down to the Marāṭhā country. But farther south and on the eastern coast, though they penetrated there and communicated their own civilization to the aboriginal races inhabiting those parts, they were not able to incorporate them thoroughly into their own society and to root out their languages and their peculiar civilization. On the contrary, the Āryas had to learn the languages of those races and to adopt a portion at least of their civilization. Thus the Kanarese, the Telugu, the Tamil, and the other languages now spoken in Southern India are not derived from the Sanskrit but belong altogether to a different stock, and hence it is also that southern art is so different from the northern. The reason why the result of the Āryan irruption was so different in Southern India from what it was in the north appears to be that when the Āryas penetrated to the south there existed already well-organized communities and kingdoms. In the passage in the Rāmāyana, referred to above, the monkey-soldiers are directed to go to the countries of the Andhras (Telugu people), the Pāṇḍyas, the Cholas, and the Keralas, in the south; and are told that they will there see the gate of the city of the Pāṇḍyas adorned with gold and jewels. And these races, their country, and their kings are alluded to in other Sanskrit works, as will be noticed hereafter. In the north, however, at the time of the Āryan invasion, the condition of the country must have been similar to that of Daṇḍakāranya, which is represented in the Rāmāyana as a forest infested by Rākhasas or wild tribes who disturbed the religious rites of the Brāhman sages. And throughout the older portion of Sanskrit literature, which is to be referred to the times when the Āryas were gradually progressing from the Panjāb, the wild tribes they met with are spoken of under the name of Dasyus, Rākhasas, and others.

¹ These points I have developed in my Lectures on Sanskrit and the Prākṛit languages derived from it; Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. pp. 290-91.

HISTORY OF

SECTION III.

APPROXIMATE DATE OF THE ĀRYAN SETTLEMENT IN THE DECCAN
AND NOTICES OF SOUTHERN INDIA IN ANCIENT INDIAN
LITERATURE AND INSCRIPTIONS.

Section III.

The Āryas
acquainted with
Northern India
in the time of
the Aitareya
Brāhmaṇa.

WE will now endeavour to determine approximately the period when the Āryas settled in Dandakāranya, and trace the relations between the civilized Āryan community of the north and the southern country at different periods of Sanskrit literature and at well known dates in Indian history. In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, which is anterior to the whole of the so-called classical Sanskrit literature, the sage Viśvāmitra is represented to have condemned by a curse the progeny of fifty of his sons to "live on the borders" of the Āryan settlements, and these, it is said, "were the Andhras, Pundras, Śabaras, Pulindas, and Mātibas, and the descendants of Viśvāmitra formed a large portion of the Dasyus."¹ Of these the first four are spoken of as people living in the south, the Pundras in the Rāmāyana, and the other three in the Purāṇas.² From the later literature, the Pulindas and Śabaras appear to have been wild tribes living about the Vindhya.³ Ptolemy places the former along the Narmadā. The Andhras, who in these days are identified with the Telugu people, lived about the mouth of the Godāvari or perhaps farther to the north. If these were the positions of the tribes in the time of the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, the Indian Āryas must at that time have been acquainted with the whole country to the north of the Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

Also in Pāṇini's
time.

Pāṇini in his Sūtras or grammatical rules shows an extensive knowledge of the geography of India. Of the places and rivers mentioned by him a good many exist in the Panjāb and Afghanistan; but the names of countries situated in the eastern portion of Northern India also occur in the Sūtras. The countries farthest to the south mentioned by him are Kachchha (IV. 2, 183), Avanti (IV. 1, 176), Kosla (IV. 1, 171), Kārśa (IV. 1, 178)⁴

¹ Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, VII. 18. Pulindas are omitted in the corresponding passage in the Śāṅkhāyana Sūtra.

² See the passages above referred to.

³ In his Kādambari Bhaṣya places the Śabaras in the forest on the Vindhya range.

⁴ This name does not occur in the Sūtra, but is the second in the Aist or Gaṇa beginning with Bharga. As regards the words occurring in these Gaṇas, I have on a previous occasion expressed my opinion that though it is not safe to attribute a whole Gaṇa to Pāṇini (and in several cases we have clear indications that some of the words were inserted in later times), still the first three words might without mistake be taken to be his. This was objected to by Professor Weber. But as my reasons were, as I thought, obvious, I did not think it necessary to defend my view. I may, however, here state that since Pāṇini refers to these Gaṇas in his Sūtras by using the first word in the list with *ddi*, equivalent to "and others," added to it, and since he uses the plural of the noun so formed, and the plural of a noun cannot be used unless three individuals at least of the class are meant, it is proper that we should understand him to be thinking of the first and two words at least more. This observation is meant to be applicable generally. In the present case, however, the expression *Bhargyāda* forms a part of the compound, and the plural is not actually used, though it is clearly implied.

and Kalinga (IV. 1, 178).¹ The first is the same as the modern country of that name, Avantī is the district about Ujjayinī, and Kalinga corresponds to the modern Northern Circars. Kosala, Karūṣa, and Avantī are mentioned in the Purāṇas as countries situated on the back of the Vindhya.² In the Rātnāvalī, a dramatic play, Kosala is also placed near that mountain range. Supposing that the non-occurrence of the name of any country farther south in Pāṇini's work is due to his not having known it, a circumstance which, looking to the many names of places in the north that he gives, appears very probable, the conclusion follows that in his time the Āryas were confined to the north of the Vindhya, but did proceed or communicate with the northernmost portion of the eastern coast, not by crossing that range, but avoiding it by taking an easterly course.

Kātyāyana, however, the object of whose aphorisms called Vārtikas is to explain and supplement Pāṇini, shows an acquaintance with southern nations. Pāṇini gives rules for the formation of derivatives for the names of tribes of warriors which are at the same time the names of the countries inhabited by them, in the sense of "one sprung from an individual belonging to that tribe," and also, it must be understood, in the sense of "king of the country." Thus a man sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pañchālas, or the king of the country Pañchālas, is to be called Pañchāla; a descendant of a Sālva, or the king of the country of the Sālvas, is to be called Sālveya, &c. Kātyāyana notices here an omission; the name Pāṇḍya is not explained by Pāṇini. Kātyāyana therefore adds, "one sprung from an individual of the tribe of the Pāṇḍus or the king of their country, should be called a Pāṇḍya."³ Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that in either of these senses no termination should be appended to the word *Kamboja*, which was the name of a non-Āryan people in the north-west, nor should any of its vowels be changed; but that the word *Kamboja* itself means "one sprung from an individual of the Kamboja tribe, or the king of the country of the Kambojas."⁴ Kātyāyana says that in this rule, the expression "and others" should be added to the word *Kambojas*; for the rule applies also to the names "Cholas and others," that is, persons sprung from an individual of the Chola and other tribes, and the kings of the Chola and other countries should be called by the names "Chola and others." Similarly, Pāṇini tells us that the countries Kumudvat, Naḍvat, and Vetasvat are so called because they contain Kumudas or water-lilies,

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Southern India
unknown in all
likelihood in
Pāṇini's time.

Southern India
known to
Kātyāyana but
unknown to
Pāṇini.

¹ In the so-called Pāṇiniya S'ikshā the expression Saurāshtrikā nārī or "a woman of Saurāshtra" occurs. But this should by no means be regarded as showing that Pāṇini was acquainted with Saurāshtra. The Pāṇiniya S'ikshā cannot be the work of Pāṇini; for the author of that treatise begins by stating that he is going to explain S'ikshā according to the views of Pāṇini and ends with a few verses in praise of the great grammarian. Besides, the author notices the Prākṛt dialects to which there is no allusion whatever in Pāṇini's great work and writes in verse. Grammatical treatises in verse are later than those in the form of Sūtras. The Pāṇiniya S'ikshā therefore must have been composed long after Pāṇini.

² Pāṇḍor dyan, which is a Vārtika on Pāṇ. IV. 1, 163.

³ Pāṇ. IV. 1, 176.

⁴ See the passages cited above.

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Nāgas or reeds, and Vetās or canes, respectively.¹ Kātyāyana adds, "Mahishmat is so called because it contains Mahishas or buffaloes."

Now Mahishmat appears to be the same southern country which in the Purāṇas is associated with Mahārāshtra and is called Mahishakas. Māhishmatī on the banks of the Narmadā was probably its capital. Here we may, I think, argue, as Professor Goldstucker has done in many similar cases, that had Pāṇini known the Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, and Mahishmat, he would not have omitted the names from his rules, considering how careful a grammarian he was. Very likely, then, he did not know them, and this supposition is strengthened by the fact alluded to above that the name of no other southern country occurs in his Sūtras. Thus then the Āryas of the north were not familiar with the southern countries and tribes in the time of Pāṇini, but were so in the time of Kātyāyana. The latter author also mentions a town of the name of Nāsikya,² which is very likely the same as our modern Nāsik.

Patañjali
intimately
acquainted
with Southern
India.

Patañjali shows an intimate acquaintance with the south. As a grammarian he thinks it his duty to notice the lingual usages in the south, and tells us that in Dakṣiṇāpatha the word *Sarṣai* is used to denote large lakes.³ He mentions Māhishmatī,⁴ Vaidarbha,⁵ Kāśchīpura⁶ the modern Conjeveram, and Kerala⁷ or Malabar. Patañjali's date, B.C. 150, may now be relied upon. That author notices variant readings of Kātyāyana's Vārtikas as found in the texts used by the schools of the Bhāradvājīyas, Saunāgas, and others. Some of these might be considered as emendations of the Vārtikas, though Patañjali's introduction of them by the verb *pathanti*, "they read," is an indication that he regarded them as different readings. A sufficiently long time therefore must have elapsed between Kātyāyana and Patañjali to give rise to these variants or emendations. I am therefore inclined to accept the popular tradition which refers Kātyāyana to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas, and to assign to him the first half of the fourth century before Christ. In this manner the interval between Kātyāyana and Patañjali was about two hundred years. Now, Professor Goldstucker has shown from an examination of the Vārtikas that certain grammatical forms are not noticed by Pāṇini but are taught by Kātyāyana, and concludes that they did not exist in the language in Pāṇini's time. I have followed up the argument in my lectures "On the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages,"⁸ and given from the Vārtikas several ordinary instances of such forms. From these one of two conclusions only is possible, viz., either that Pāṇini was a very careless and ignorant grammarian, or that the forms did not exist in the language in his time. The first is of course inadmissible; wherefore the second must be accepted. I have also

Chronological
relations between
Kātyāyana and
Patañjali.

Between
Kātyāyana
and Pāṇini.

¹ Pan. IV. 2, 87.

² Mahābhāṣya on Pan. I. 1, 19.

³ IV. 1, fourth Āhnika.

⁴ IV. 1, fourth Āhnika.

⁵ In a Vārtika on Pan. VI. 1, 63.

⁶ On Pan. III. 1, 26.

⁷ IV. 2, second Āhnika.

⁸ Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVI. p. 273.

shown from a passage in the introduction to Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya, that verbal forms such as those of the perfect which are taught by Pāṇini as found in the Bhāṣā or current language, not the Chhāṇḍasa or obsolete language, had gone out of use in the time of Kātyāyana and Patañjali, and participles had come to be used instead.¹ Professor Goldstucker has also given a list of words used by Pāṇini in his Sūtras in a sense which became obsolete in the time of Kātyāyana, and shown what portion of Sanskrit literature did not probably exist in Pāṇini's time but was known to Kātyāyana, and in one case comes to the not unjustifiable conclusion that the time that elapsed between Pāṇini and Kātyāyana was so great that certain literary works which either did not exist in Pāṇini's time or were not old to him came to be considered by Kātyāyana to be as old as those which were old to Pāṇini. No less an interval of time than about three centuries can account for all these circumstances. Pāṇini, therefore, must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still; and against this conclusion I believe no argument has been or can be brought, except a vague prejudice. And now to our point, the Indian Aryas had thus no knowledge of Southern India previous to the seventh century before Christ; they had gone as far as the Northern Circars by the eastern route, but no further; and the countries directly to the south of the Vindhya they were not familiar with. About that time, however, they must have begun to penetrate still further, since they had already settled in or had communication with the countries on the northern skirts of the Vindhya and Kālīṅga, and first settled in Vidarbha or Berār, approaching it still, it would appear, by the eastern route; but in the course of some time more they crossed the Vindhya and settled in Daṇḍakāranya along the banks of the Godāvarī, that is, in Mahārāṣṭra or the Dekkan. Before a.c. 350 they had become familiar with the whole country down to Tanjor and Madura.

A chronological conclusion based on the occurrence of certain words or names in the great epics is not likely to be so safe. Though a Mahābhārata existed before Pāṇini and Āśvalāyana, it is highly questionable whether our present text is the same as that which existed in their times. On the contrary, the probability is that the work has been added to from time to time; and the text itself has undergone such corruption that no one can be positively certain that a particular word was not foisted into it in comparatively modern times. The text of the Rāmāyana also has become corrupt, though additions do not seem to have been made to it. Still the Bengali rescension of the poem like the Bengali rescensions of more recent works does contain additions. The text prevalent in this part of the country and in the south is more reliable; and though innumerable differences of reading exist in the different manuscripts even on this side, still there is hardly any material difference. But

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The Aryas penetrated to the Dekkan after the beginning of about the seventh century a.c.

Chronological value of the Epics.

¹ Jour. Bom. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 269-71.

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Places in the
Dekkan alluded
to in the poems.

the date of the Rāmāyana is uncertain, the present Hindu belief based on the Purāṇas is that Rāma's incarnation is older than Krishna's, and consequently the Rāmāyana older than the Mahābhārata; but it is not a little curious that while there is an allusion to Vāsudeva and Arjuna and to Yudhishtira in Pāṇini, and Patañjali frequently brings in Mahābhārata characters in his illustrations and examples, there is not one allusion to Rāma or his brothers or their father Daśaratha in the works of those grammarians. Even a much later author, Amarasimha the lexicographer, in his list of the synonyms of Viṣṇu, gives a good many names derived from the Kṛṣṇa incarnation; but the name of Rāma, the son of Daśaratha, does not occur, though Rāma or Balabhadra, the brother of Kṛṣṇa, is mentioned. Still, whatever chronological value may be attached to the circumstance, the occurrence of the names of places in the Dekkan contained in those epics I have already to some extent noticed. Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pāṇdyas, Dravidas, Udras, Keralas, and Andhras,¹ and also to have visited Kishkindhā, which was probably situated somewhere near Hampi, the site of the Pampā lake or river, where Rāma met Sugriva the monkey chief, though the country Kaishkindha is placed by the Purāṇas among those near the Vindhya. He went also to Sārparaka, the modern Supārā near Bassein, Daṇḍaka, the same as Daṇḍakāranya but not mentioned as a forest, Karabātaka the modern Karhāḍa on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Kōrnā, and to others. The countries mentioned in the passage in the Rāmāyana, alluded to above, as lying to the south are Utkala, probably the modern Ganjam, Kalinga, Daśārṇa, Avantī, Vidarbha, and others. The district near Bhilsā must have been called Daśārṇa in ancient times, for its capital was Vidiśā, which was situated, as stated by Kālidāsa in the Meghadūta, on the Vetravati or Betvā, and is thus to be identified with the modern Bhilsā. All these are thus in the vicinity of the Vindhya or nearly in the same line with it further east. But between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, and Keralas, the Rāmāyana mentions no other place or country but Daṇḍakāranya. This condition of the country, as observed before, is to be considered as previous to the Āryan settlements in the Dekkan, while that represented by the Mahābhārata in the place indicated seems subsequent; and herein we may see a reason for believing that the Rāmāyana is the older of the two epics. The name Mahārāṣṭra does not occur in either of them.

Names of peoples
in the Dekkan in
the inscriptions
of Aśoka.

In the middle of the third century before Christ, Aśoka,² the great king of the Maurya dynasty reigning at Pāṭaliputra in Magadha, speaks in the fifth Edict of his rock-inscriptions, which are found at Girnār in Kāthiāwād on the west, Dhauli in Katak and Jaugāḍ in Ganjam on the eastern coast, at Khalsi in the Himālaya, Shāhbaz-garhi in Afghanistan, and Mausehra on the northern frontier of the Panjab, of his having sent ministers of religion

¹ Sābhag, Chap. 31.

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to the Rāstikas and the Pētenikas and to the Aparāntas.¹ The last which we know best is Northern Konkan, the capital of which was Sūrpāraka. Pētenikas is not unlikely the same as Pāṭhānakas, i.e., the people or country about Pāṭhāna on the Godāvari. The vernacular pronunciation of the name of the city, which in Sanskrit is Pratiśṭhāna, was in those days, as it now is, Pēthāna or Pāṭhāna, for both the author of the Pēriplus and Ptolemy call it Pāṭhāna or Baithāna. The Rāstikas, or, according to the Mansehra version, Rātrakas, corresponding to the Sanskrit Rāshṭrikas, were very likely the people of Mahārāshṭra, for a tribe of the name of Rāttas has from the remotest times held political supremacy in the Dekkan. One branch of it assumed the name of Rāshṭrakūṭas and governed the country before the Chālukyas acquired power. It re-established itself after about three centuries, but had to yield to the Chālukyas again after some time. In later times, chieftains of the name of Rāttas governed Sugandhavartī or Saundattī in the Belgaum districts. In the thirteenth Edict in which the countries where Aśoka's moral edicts were respected are enumerated, the Pētenikas are associated with Bhojas instead of Rāstikas. Bhojas, we know, ruled over the country of Vidarbha or Berār² and also in other parts of the Dekkan. In the inscriptions in the caves at Kūdā,³ the name "Mahābhōja" or Great Bhoja occurs several times, and once in an inscription at Beḍā. Just as the Bhojas called themselves Mahābhōjas, the Rāshṭrikas, Rāttis, Rāttis, or Rāttas called themselves Mahārāttis or Mahārāttas, as will be shown below, and thus the country in which they lived came to be called Mahārāttas, the Sanskrit of which is Mahārāshṭra. In the second and the thirteenth edicts, the countries of the Cholas, Pāndyas, Kotalaputras (Chera or Kerala), and the Andhras and Pulindas are mentioned. Thus about a hundred years before Pātānjali, the whole of the southern peninsula up to Cape Comorin was in direct communication with the north, and the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra had regular kingdoms governed by Rāttas and Bhojas.

Etymology of
the name
"Mahārāshṭra."

In the Mahāvamsa, a Ceylonesc chronicle which was written in the third quarter of the fifth century of the Christian era, and in the Dipavamsa, which is much older, the Buddhist saint Moggalliputto, who conducted the proceedings of the third convocation said to

The occurrence
of the names
"Mahārāttis,"
"Mahārāttas,"
and
"Mahārāshṭra"
in books and
inscriptions.

¹ ये वाप्यप्येऽपरान्ताः is the Sanskrit of the original Prakṛit. It might be translated as "and also those other called Aparāntas," i.e. also that other country called Aparānta. If we take it in this way, Aparānta is clearly Northern Konkan; for that is the name of that part of the country found in Sanskrit and Pāli Literature from the remotest times. In the Mahāvamsa and Dipavamsa quoted below, Mahārāshṭra is associated with Aparāntaka. It is possible to translate it as "and also other western countries" as M. Senart does. But the word "other" certainly refers to *Rāshṭra-Pētenikādāna* and not to the preceding Yonam Kambojam &c., as he takes it so as to make these last also western countries. (Inscriptions of Aśoka, Vol. II., p. 84.)

² In the Daśakūmarāchārta, the family of Bhojas has been represented as having held sway over the Vidarbha country for a long time.

³ Kūdā inscriptions Nos. 1, 9, 17, 19, 23, and Beḍā No. 2; Arch. Surv. of West. Ind., No. 10.

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have been held in the time of Aśoka, is represented to have sent missionaries to Mahāratta, Aparāntaka, and Vanavāsi.¹ Whether the name Mahāratta or Mahārāshtra had come into use in the time of Aśoka does not appear clear from this, but that it was used in the early centuries of the Christian era admits of little doubt. In some inscriptions in the cave-temples at Bhājā, Beḍā, and Kārli which are to be referred to the second century, the male donors are called Mahārathi and the female Mahārathini, which names, as observed before, correspond to Mahābhoja and Mahābhōji and signify the great Rathi (man and woman).² Similarly, in the large cave at Nānāghāt a Mahārathi hero is mentioned. Of the old Prakrits the principal one was called Mahārāshtri, because we are told it was the language of Mahārāshtra. We have a poem in this dialect entitled *Setubandha* attributed to Kālidāsa and mentioned by Daṇḍin, and a collection of amorous verses attributed to Śilvāhana. It is the language of Prakrit verses put into the mouths of women in Sanskrit dramatic plays. Its grammar we have in Vararuchi's Prakṛit Prakāśa; but the date of this author is uncertain, though there is reason to believe that he was one of the nine gems of the court of Vikramāditya and was thus a contemporary of Varāhamihira and Kālidāsa. Though the date of Kālidāsa has not yet been satisfactorily determined, still he is mentioned as a poet of great merit in the first half of the seventh century by Bāṇ in his *Harshacharita* in the north,³ and in an inscription at Aihole⁴ dated 556 Śaka in the south. A hundred years is not too long a period to allow for the spread of his fame throughout the country, perhaps it is too short. Kālidāsa may therefore be referred to that period of Sanskrit literature in which the nine gems flourished, and which has been placed by Dr. Kern in the first half of the sixth century.⁵ The Mahārāshtri dialect, therefore, in which Kālidāsa wrote the *Setubandha* and the Prakṛit verses in his plays, must have undergone a course of cultivation for about two or three centuries earlier and been called by that name, since it has been known by no other in the whole literature. Varāhamihira also, who lived in the beginning of the sixth century, speaks of Mahārāshtra as a southern country; and in the Aihole inscription alluded to above Mahārāshtra is mentioned as comprising three

¹ Mahāvamsa, Turnour's Ed., pp 71 and 72, and Dipavamsa, Oltnerberg's Ed., p 54. The latter however omits Vanavāsi.

² Arch. Surv. of West. Ind. No. 10; Bhājā No. 2; Beḍā No. 2; Kārli Nos. 2 and 14. Pandit Bhagvānlāl appears to me clearly wrong here in taking Mahārathi to be equal to the Sk. Mahārathi and translating it as "a great warrior," for in Beḍā No. 2 a woman is called Mahārathini where the word certainly cannot mean a great warrior, and to interpret it as "the wife or daughter of a great warrior" is simply begging the question. Mahārathi appears clearly to be the name of a tribe and is the same as our modern Marāṭhā. It will appear from this inscription that there were intermarriages between the Mahābhōjas and the Mahārathis, for the lady mentioned in this inscription was the daughter of a Mahābhōja and a Mahārathini or the wife of a Mahārathi.

³ Dr. Hall's *Vāsavadattā*, Preface, p. 14.

⁴ Ind. Ant. Vol. VIII., p. 243.

⁵ Ed. of Varāhamihira, Preface, p. 20.

countries and ninety-nine thousand villages. Hwan Tshang, the Chinese traveller, calls the country ruled over by the Châlukyas in the second quarter of the seventh century, Moholocha, which has been properly identified with Mahârâshtra. The occurrence of the name of Mahârâshtra in the Purâpas has already been noticed.

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SECTION IV.

POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE DEKKAN OR MAHĀRĀSHTRA—ANALYSIS
OF THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CAVE-TEMPLES OF
WESTERN INDIA.Section IV.

Extent of the
dominions of
Chandragupta
and Aśoka.

No clue to the political history of Mahārāshtra in the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era is now available. The Purāṇas contain lists of kings and dynasties whose chronology has been to some extent determined by their known connection with the successors of Alexander the Great; but clear traces of their occupation of the south have not yet been found. Chandragupta, who founded the Maurya dynasty in about B.C. 320, ruled over Northern India as far as Kāthiāvād, and his grandson Aśoka, who reigned from B.C. 263 to B.C. 229, retained possession of the province.¹ The rock-inscriptions of the latter, which were evidently planted in the countries which owned his sway, show that his empire extended to Kalinga or the Northern Circars in the east and Kāthiāvād in the west. But stray edicts have been discovered farther south; a fragment of the eighth being found at Supārā and three minor ones on the northern frontier of Mysor. In the second rock-edict he speaks of his own dominions as "the conquered countries" and mentions Chola, Pāṇḍya, Ketalaputta, and Saliyaputta down to Tambapaṇni or Ceylon as outlying provinces. These therefore did not own his sway. But in the fifth edict he mentions the Rāṣṭrikas, Pētenikas and Aparāntas and a few more provinces as those for the benefit of which he appointed religious ministers. If these were as much a part of his dominions as the many others which are not named, there is no reason why they should be named. Again he includes most of these in the thirteenth edict among countries which received his moral teaching, along with Chola, Pāṇḍya and others, and the territories ruled over by Antiochus and four other Greek princes. It would thus appear that though the countries of the Rāṣṭrikas, Bhojas, Pētenikas, and Aparāntas were not outlying provinces like those of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and Ketalaputtas, they enjoyed a sort of semi-independence; and only owned allegiance to him as suzerain. The appearance of fragments of his inscriptions at Supārā and on the confines of Mysor is to be accounted for by this fact, or by the supposition that his dominions extended up to Supārā on the western coast and along a strip in the centre of the peninsula to Mysor, leaving the western countries of the Rāṣṭrikas, the Bhojas, and Pētenikas, and the southern coast in a state of semi-independence. And there is some positive evidence to that effect. Vidarbha, the country of the Bhojas, must have existed as a separate kingdom about that time. For in the dramatic play of Mālavikāgnimitra, the political events narrated in which may be accepted as historical, Agnimitra the son of Pushyamitra, the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty, who reigned in

Vidarbha, a
separate
kingdom in
the time of
Śuṅgas.

¹ See inscription of Rudradāman; Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, line 8.

the second and third quarters of the second century before Christ, is represented to have reigned at Vidiśā, which I have before identified with Bhilsā, probably as his father's viceroxy. He had made proposals of marriage with Mālavikā to her brother Mādhasena, the cousin of Yajñasena, king of Vidarbha. Between these cousins there was a quarrel as regards the succession to the throne. When Mādhasena was secretly on his way to Vidiśā, the general of Yajñasena, posted on the frontier of the kingdom, captured him. His counsellor Sumati and Mālavikā escaped, but Mādhasena was kept in custody. Thereupon Agnimitra demanded of Yajñasena the surrender of Mādhasena. Yajñasena promised to give him up on condition that his wife's brother, who was the counsellor of the last Maurya king and had been imprisoned by Agnimitra or his father Pushyamitra, should be released. This enraged Agnimitra, who thereupon sent an army against Yajñasena and vanquished him. Mādhasena was released, and the country of Vidarbha was divided between the two cousins, each ruling over each side of the river Varadī.

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Paithan also must have been the capital of a kingdom about the time. In the inscriptions in the caves at Pitalkhorā near Chālis-gāvi, which from the forms of the characters in which they are engraved must be referred to the second century before Christ, the religious benefactions of merchants from Pratiśthāna are recorded, as well as those of the physician to the king and of his son and daughter.¹ The king referred to must be the ruler of Pratiśthāna or Paithan. No more particular information is available. On the history of the early centuries of the Christian era and the first century previous, however, the inscriptions in the cave-temples on the top of the Sahyādri throw a good deal of light. I will here bring together the information deducible from them, noticing the inscriptions in the chronological order clearly determined by the forms of the characters.

Paithan, the capital of a kingdom.

An inscription² in a small cave at Nāsik mentions that the cave was scooped out by the lieutenant at Nāsik of king Kṛishna of the Sātavāhana race. In a cave at Nānāghāt there is another, which is much mutilated and the purport of which consequently is not quite clear. In that same cave figures of persons are carved on the front wall, and the following names are inscribed over them: 1, Rāyā Simuka Sātavāhana, *i. e.*, king Simuka Sātavāhana; 2, Devī Nāyanikāyā rañño cha Sirī Sātakanino, *i. e.*, of queen Nāyanikā and king Sirī Sātakanin; 3, Kumāro Bhāyā, *i. e.*, prince Bhāyā; 4, Mahārasthiganakayiro, *i. e.*, the heroic Marāṭhā leader or the hero of the Marāṭhā tribe; 5, Kumāro Haku Sirī, *i. e.*, prince Haku Sirī; 6, Kumāro Sātavāhana, *i. e.*, prince Sātavāhana. Of these the second who has been mentioned along with his queen must have been the reigning prince, the first was an earlier king of the same

Inscriptions of king Kṛishna and others of the Sātavāhana race at Nāsik and Nānāghāt.

¹ Inscriptions, pp. 39, 41. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

² No. 6, Nāsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., and p. 338, Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874.

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Ushavadāta's
principal
inscription at
Nāsik.

dynasty, the fourth was a local Marāṭhā warrior, and the rest were young princes of the Sātavāhana dynasty.

In another Nāsik cave there are four inscriptions. In the first we are told that the cave was caused to be constructed on mount Trirāśmi in Govardhana or the Nāsik District by the benevolent Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of king Kshaharāta Nuhapīna and son of Dīnīka. Ushavadāta gave away three hundred thousand cows; constructed flights of steps on the river Bīrnāsīyā; assigned sixteen villages to gods and Brāhmanas; fed a hundred thousand Brāhmanas every year; got eight Brāhmanas at Prabhāsa or Somanāth Paṭṭan married at his own expense; constructed quadrangles, houses, and halting places at Bharukachchha or Bharoch, Dasapura in Mālva, Govardhana, and S'orpirāga, the modern Supārā near Bassorin; made gardens and sunk wells and tanks; placed ferry boats over the Ibā, Pārādā, Damuṇi, Tāpi, Kurabenā, and Dāhanukā, which were rivers along the coast between Thāpi and Surat; constructed rest-houses and endowed places for the distribution of water to travellers on both sides of these rivers; and founded certain benefactions in the village of Nānāngola, for the Charanas and Parishads (Vedic schools of Brāhmanas) in Pīṇḍitakāvada. Govardhana, Suvārpamukha, S'orpirāga, and Rāmatīrtha. One year in the rainy season he marched at the command of his lord to the relief of the chief of a tribe of Kshatriyas called Uttamabhadras, who had been attacked and besieged by the Mālayas. At the sound of his martial music the Mālayas fled away, and they were made the subjects of the Uttamabhadras. Thence he went to Poshkarāni and there performed ablutions and gave three thousand cows and a village.¹

Ushavadāta's
other
inscriptions.

In the second inscription Ushavadāta is spoken of as having, in the year 42, dedicated the cave monastery for the use of the Buddhist mendicant priests coming to it from the four quarters. He deposited with a guild of weavers residing in Govardhana a sum of two thousand Kārshāpanas at an annual interest of one hundred Kārshāpanas. Out of this interest he directed that a garment should annually be given to each of the twenty priests residing during the rains in his cave monastery. With another guild he deposited one thousand Kārshāpanas, the interest on which was seventy-five Kārshāpanas. Out of this other things (Kusāya) were to be provided for the priests. The carrying out of these directions was secured by their being declared in the corporation of the town of Govardhana and inscribed on the door of the monastery. In the years 41 and 40 he gave away a large sum of money² for gods and Brāhmanas. The third inscription, which is a short one, mentions that the apartment on which it is engraved was the religious benefaction of Ushavadāta's wife Dakhamitrā.³ The fourth is greatly mutilated but sufficient remains to show that that also records similar gifts of Ushavadāta's.⁴ In the cave-temple of Kārli there is an inscription

¹ No. 17. Nāsik Inscriptions, Vol. VII., Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Oriental Congress, 1874, p. 326. ² Nos. 13 and 16, *Ibid.*, which together form one inscription.

³ First part of No. 16, *Ibid.*

⁴ No. 14, *Ibid.*

in which Ushavādāta is represented to have granted the village of Karjika for the support of the mendicant priests in the cave monastery of Valūra, as the hill or the country about it seems to have been called at the time.¹ There also is given an account of his charities similar to that in the first of his Nāsik inscriptions. In an inscription at Junnar, Ayama, the minister of the lord Nahapāna the great Kshatrapa, is mentioned as having caused a tank to be dug and a hall to be constructed.² The minister appears to have been a Brāhmaṇ, since he is spoken of as belonging to the Vatsa Gotra.

Next in order come the inscriptions in which certain kings of the names of Gotamiputra Sātakarṇi and Puṣumāyi are mentioned. In the longest of the four occurring in the cave-temple at one extremity of the hill at Nāsik, we are told that in the nineteenth year of the reign of king Puṣumāyi, the son of Vāsiśthī, the cave was caused to be constructed and dedicated for the use of Buddhist mendicants of the Bhadrāyaniya sect by Gotamī, the mother of king Sātakarṇi Gotamiputra. She is there called "the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king." Gotamiputra is spoken of as king of kings and ruler of Asika, Āśmaka, Mūḷaka,³ Surishṭra, Kukura, Aparānta, Anūpa, Vidarbha and Akarāvanti.⁴ He was the lord of the mountains Vindhyaṭ, Pāriyātra, Sahya, Krishnagiri, Malaya, Mahendra, Śrēṣṭhagiri, and Chakora. His orders were obeyed by a large circle of kings, and his feet were adored by them. His beasts of burden drank the waters of the three seas. He protected all who sought an asylum with him, and regarded the happiness and misery of his subjects as his own. He paid equal attention to the three objects of human pursuit, *viz.*, duty, worldly prosperity, and the satisfaction of desires, appointing certain times and places for each. He was the abode of learning, the support of good men, the home of glory, the source of good manners, the only person of skill, the only archer, the only hero, the only protector of Brāhmaṇs. He conferred upon Brāhmaṇs the means of increasing their race, and stemmed the progress of the confusion of castes. His exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kṛṣṇa, Arjuna, and Bhīmasena, and his prowess was equal to that of Nabhāga, Nahusha, Janamejaya, Sagarā, Yayāti, Rāma, and Ambarisha. He was descended from a long line of kings. He vanquished the host of his enemies in innumerable battles, quelled the boast and pride of Kshatriyas, destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, left no trace or remnant of the race of Khagārāta, and re-established the glory of the Sātavāhana family. In the last line of the inscription mention

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Inscriptions of
Gotamiputra
Sātakarṇi and
Puṣumāyi
at Nāsik.

¹ No. 13, Kārli Inscriptions—Arch. Surv., W. Ind., No. 10.

² No. 25, Junnar Inscriptions, *Ibid.*

³ Āśmaka and Maulika are mentioned among the southern countries in the Purāṇas.

⁴ Surishṭra is Southern Kāthiavād, Kukura, a portion of Rājputānā, and Aparānta, Northern Konkan. Anūpa is mentioned in the Purāṇas as a country situated in the vicinity of the Vindhya. It was the country on the upper Narmadā with Mahishmati for its capital, according to the Raghuvamśa. Akarāvanti must be the eastern portion of Mālava.

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is made of the grant of a village for the support of the establishment in the cave-temple.¹

Charter of
Puṣumāyi.

In a later inscription engraved in smaller characters below this, Vāsishthīputra Śrī Puṣumāvi, the lord of Navanara, issues orders to his lieutenant in Govardhana, Sarvākshadālana. He calls his attention to the fact that the village granted by the "lord of Dhana-kata"² (Gotamīputra) in accordance with the above, was not liked by the Bhadrāyanīyas, and therefore assigns another to them by this charter.

Charter of
Gotamīputra.

On the wall to the left of the verandah of the cave is another inscription. It purports to be an order or notice issued from the camp of the victorious army of Govardhana, by Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, lord of Dhanakataka, to Viṣṇupālita, his lieutenant in Govardhana, informing him that the king has granted a field measuring 200 Nivartanas, which was up to that time in the possession of one Ushabhadāla, for the benefit of recluses. The charter here engraved is represented to have been originally issued in the year 18, that is, in the year preceding that in which the cave-temple was completed and dedicated. Below this is inscribed another charter issued in the form of an order to Śramaka, the governor of Govardhana, by the queen of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, who is also called the royal mother. She therein speaks of a field granted before, probably the one conveyed by the above charter, and says that it measures one hundred Nivartanas, and she assigns another hundred by this charter out of a field belonging to the crown which was her patrimony. It appears that two hundred Nivartanas were granted by the first charter, but probably it turned out that the field measured one hundred only; hence she now makes it up by granting another hundred out of another field. The date of this grant is 24, i. e., it was made six years after the first.³

Of the wife of
Gotamīputra.

Private inscrip-
tions contain-
ing Puṣumāyi's name.

Besides these, there are two inscriptions at Nāsik recording the benefactions of private individuals, dated in the second and seventh years of the reign of Śrī Puṣumāyi, and two in the cave at Kārli,⁴ dated in the seventh and twenty-fourth years of his reign.

Relations between
the kings and
queens mentioned
in the inscriptions
in Gotamī's cave.

Since Gotamī is spoken of as the mother of a king and the grand-mother of a king, and the wife of her son Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi is

¹ Inscription No. 26, Vol. VII. Jour. B. B. R. A. S. and Trans. Or. Congr. 1874, p. 307.

² Paṇḍit Bhagvāṇāl and Dr Buhler, whose transcripts and translations of the Nāsik inscriptions were published about ten years after mine, read the expression thus understood by me as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटसामिनिः. But what the Śramakas or Buddhist priests of Dhanakataka, which was situated hundreds of miles away on the lower Krishna, could have to do with the matter of the granting of a village near Nāsik to the Bhadrāyanīya mendicants of the place it is impossible to conceive. The expression must, I think, be taken as धनकटसामिनेहि for the Sanskrit धनकटस्वामिनिः or धनकट-सामिनेहि corresponding to महासामिनेहि in the first part of No. 26, the Sanskrit of which is महास्वामिनेहि. The form सामिनेहि must have come into use on the analogy of such forms as अन्तेहि for आत्मनि, and राजानेहि for राजनिः.

³ No. 25, *Ibid.*

⁴ Nos. 3 and 27, *Ibid.*

⁵ Nos. 14 and 20, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

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represented as the mother of a king, and since the only other king besides Śātakarṇi mentioned in these inscriptions is Puṣumāyi, it appears that this last was the grandson and son respectively of these two ladies. He was therefore the son and his mother Vāsishthī the wife of Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi. Śātakarṇi issued the charter contained in the second inscription in the year 18, which must be the eighteenth year of Puṣumāyi's reign, since dates referring to his reign only are found at Nāsik and Kārli and not to that of Gotamīputra. Even the date of the large inscription noticed above in which Gotamīputra's great deeds are recorded is referred to Puṣumāyi's reign. And the grant of the village alluded to in that inscription and the one below appears to have been made by Gotamīputra, since he is spoken of as "the lord of Dhanakataka," though the portion of the rock containing the words that would have rendered the sense clear has been cut away. Gotamī is spoken of as dedicating the cave in the present tense, wherefore it must be understood she was alive at the time. The father and the son appear thus to have reigned at the same time, the son on this side of the country since the inscriptions are dated in his reign, and the father at Dhanakataka, which has been identified with Dhanakot in the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency. And this is confirmed by the fact, mentioned above, of Gotamī's having been called the mother of the great king and the grandmother of the great king. This statement would be pointless if she were not both at one and the same time.¹ Since the charter of the year 24, intended as supplementary to that of 18, was issued by Vāsishthī, while the first was issued by her husband, it appears probable that Gotamīputra had died in the interval and Vāsishthī reigned as regent at the capital, while Puṣumāyi continued to govern the Dekkan or Mahārāshtra. The years given in the charter must be those of Puṣumāyi, since even the large inscription is dated in the nineteenth year of his reign. These kings belonged to the Śātavāhana dynasty.

The names of other kings, apparently of the same dynasty, are found in other inscriptions. In one of the caves at Kānheri near

¹ Dr. Bühler (Arch. Surv. of West Ind., Vol. IV., p. 110,) supposes me to have rested my conclusion as regards this point on this statement alone, and calls it a mistake. But he will find my other reasons also stated in the remarks at the end of my article in the Transactions of the Oriental Congress of 1874. And even this statement has a very high corroborative value. For, if the object of the writer was to represent Gotamī's "special claim" to honour, that is better served by supposing that her son and grandson were great kings at one and the same time. Every queen belonging to a dynasty in power is the mother of a king and grandmother of a king; and there is nothing special in the fact if the son and the grandson bore the title at different times. If the son was dead, no object is gained as regards this point by saying she was the mother of that son that is not gained by saying she was the grandmother of a living great king. And if it was a fact that Gotamīputra was dead when the cave-temple was dedicated and Puṣumāyi alone was reigning, we should expect to find the exploits of the latter also celebrated in the inscription, but there is not a word in praise of him. If Puṣumāyi became king only after Gotamīputra, the latter must have died nineteen years before the dedication of the temple, and it certainly is not what one acquainted with the manner and motive of Hindu inscription-writers would expect that a king who had been dead for nineteen years should be highly extolled in the inscription and the reigning king altogether passed over in silence.

Section IV.

Madhariputra.
Yajña Sri.

Chatrapana.

Names of princes
on the coins found
at Kolhāpur.

Thānā, a grant is recorded in the eighth year of the reign of Madhariputra Sakasena.¹ In two other inscriptions at the same place the name of the reigning prince is given as Gotamiputa Siri Yajña Sātākani (Gotamiputra Sri Yajña Sātākani).² In one of these the year that is given is not legible, but still appears to be the sixteenth of his reign. There is one inscription at Nāsik which is dated in the seventh year of that king.³ Paudit Bhagvānlāl has brought to light the name of another prince. There is according to him an inscription on the Nānāghāt in which is recorded the dedication of a cistern of water in the thirteenth year of Vāsithiputa Chatrapana Sātākani.

A large number of coins of copper and lead were discovered a few years ago, buried in what appears to have once been a Buddhist stūpa at Kolhāpur. Another hoard has been found some time previous in about the same locality. The legends on those coins are in characters the forms of which greatly resemble those in the cave inscriptions above noticed. They are as follows⁴:

Raṇṇo Vasiṭhiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Raṇṇo Gotamiputasa Vilivāyakurasa.

Raṇṇo Madhariputasa Sevalakurasa.

Here we have the same names as before; but the words Vilivāyakurasa and Sevalakurasa have not yet been interpreted by any student of Indian antiquities. On a former occasion I put forth a conjecture that they were the names of the viceroys of those kings appointed to govern the country about Kolhāpur.⁵ For, coins of two of those princes and of a few others belonging to the same dynasty are found near Dharanikoṭ in the Guntur District about the site of Dhaukakataka, the old capital. The legends on these do not contain those words, and the coins are of a different type from those found at Kolhāpur. These last, therefore, it appeared to me, were struck on this side of the country, and consequently bore the names of the viceroys under whose authority they were issued. The truth of this conjecture I will demonstrate further on. It will be seen from what is to be stated hereafter that the Vāsithiputa of those coins who had Vilivāyakura for his viceroy can be no other than Vāsithiputa Puṣumāyi.

¹ No. 19, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Vol. XII., p. 400. In the first copy the name is clearly Sakasena, but in the second, which is Paudit Bhagvānlāl's rubbing, something like an effaced mark for the vowel *i* appears above the first two consonants. The Paudit, therefore, reads the name as Sisena for Sisena, but the *i* is distinct even in his copy. *Sika* cannot mean anything, wherefore it appears that the indistinct marks which do not occur in the first copy are due to some flaw in the rock, and do not represent the vowel *i*. Dr. Brian Dalt also read the name as Sakasena. But the copy of the inscription given in Plate LI. Vol. V. of the Archaeological Survey of Western India and marked No. 14 leaves no doubt whatever on the point. The name there is distinctly Sakasena. Further confirmation if necessary will be found later on. It is therefore clearly a mistake to call the king Sisena.

² Nos. 4 and 44, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI.

³ No. 4, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., and Trans. Or. Congr., 1874, p. 339.

⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 305, and Vol. XIV., p. 153-54. There are in my possession coins of lead of the same size as those figured here, and a good many smaller ones in which I find the same legends as those given above. They also were found at Kolhāpur. Some of the smaller ones appear to be of bronze.

⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV., p. 154.

The Gotamiputa must be Gotamiputra Yajña Śātakarṇi of the inscriptions; for the father of Puṣumayi did not reign on this side of the country, as none of the inscriptions are dated in his reign though his exploits are described in the Nāsik Caves. Maḍhariputa must have come after Gotamiputa and not after Vāsithiputa, as is maintained by some scholars; for his viceroy was a different person from that of the other two. The fact that these two had the same viceroy shows that one of them immediately succeeded the other. Another prince with a different viceroy could not come between them. In the stūpa dug out at Supārā, Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl found a silver coin in a copper casket. On the obverse of the coin, which bears a well-shaped head of the king, we have the legend Rañño Gotamiputasa Siri Yajña Śātakarṇisa, which means "[this coin is] of the king Gotamiputra Śri Yajña Śāta, karṇi." This therefore is the prince in whose name the coin was issued. There is another legend on the reverse which though some of the letters are not distinct appears to be *Gotamiputa-Kumārū-Yajña-Śātakarṇi-Chaturapanasa* the sense of which is "[this coin is] of Chaturapana Yajña Śātakarṇi, prince of Gotamiputa."¹ The coin was thus like the Kolhāpur coins issued in the names of two persons; of whom Yajña Śri Śātakarṇi was the reigning sovereign, as his name appears round the bust, and Chaturapana who was his son represented him as viceroy in the province in which the coin was issued, and which from the shape and get-up of the coin appears to have been once ruled over by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini or Kāthiāwād.

There is an inscription at Kānheri which is in a mutilated condition, but which with the help of Mr. West's eye copy and an impression given in one of Dr. Burgess' Reports has been partially restored by Dr. Bühler. Therein is made the dedication of a water cistern by Śāta-raka who was the confidential counsellor of the Queen of Vāsishthiputra Śātakarṇi, who belonged to the family of the Karddamakas and was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa whose name is obliterated. The opening letters of the second line have also been effaced, but what we might expect to find there is the name of her son, after we have had those of her husband, family, and father. From the letters in West's copy which look like *Sakarāja* one might think the son meant was Śakasena; still the conjecture is somewhat hazardous.² The name of this Vāsishthi-

Section IV.

Names of princes
on the Supārā
coin.

Chaturapana
in a Kānheri
Inscription.

¹ The latter portions of the letters *chaturapanasa* only are impressed on the coin so that the reading is somewhat doubtful; but *panasa* is distinct enough. Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl puts *Chaturapanasa* at the beginning of the legend and reads *Chaturapanasa Gotamiputa Kumārū Yajña Śātakarṇi* which he translates "Yajña Śātakarṇi, son of Gotamiputa, and prince of Chaturapana;" and states his belief that Chaturapana was the name of Yajña Śri's father. But to connect Kumārū, which forms a part of a compound with the genitive, *Chaturapanasa*, is grammatically not allowable; while the genitive which is always required to show whose coin it is, is wanting. Hence *Chaturapanasa* is the last word and the whole is a compound, Kumārū is probably a mistake for Kumāra and Yajña Śātakarṇi is the father's name placed before Chaturapanasa to show that he was his son. (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 306-6.)

² Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI. and Archæol. S. of W. I., Vol. V., Inscription No. 11, also p. 78 of the latter. There would be nothing improbable in it if we here read the name of Śakasena. For this name and that of his mother Maḍhari point to a connection with the Śakas whose representatives the Kshatrapas were, and this connection is unfolded in this inscription.

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putra is Śātakarṇi, wherefore he was not Puṣumāyi, but very likely Chatushparṇa (Chatarapana) Śātakarṇi.

Thus then, from these inscriptions and coins we arrive at the names of the following kings arranged in the chronological order indicated by the forms of the characters used and by other circumstances :

Krishnarāja.

Śitakarṇi.

Kshabarāta Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta.

Gotamiputra Śātakarṇi.

Vāsishṭhiputra Puṣumāyi

Gotamiputra Śrī Yajña Śātakarṇi.

Vāsishṭhiputra Chatushparṇa (Chaturapana or Chatarapana)

Śātakarṇi.

Madhariputra Śakasena.

Besides these, we have the name of Simuka Śitavāhana, a king that reigned earlier than the second in the above list. We shall hereafter assign to him his proper place.

SECTION V.

NATIVE AND FOREIGN PRINCES MENTIONED IN THE INSCRIPTIONS.—
IDENTIFICATION OF THE FORMER WITH THE
ANDHRABHŪTAS OF THE PURĀNAS.

THE first thing that will strike one on looking at the list given at the end of the last section, is that the name Kshaharāta Nahapāna is not Indian but foreign. The title Kshatrapa or Mahākshatrapa also used in the case of that king, is not Indian, though it is the Sanskritised form of a foreign one, very likely the Persian *Satrap*. From the statement in the inscription of Gotamiputra that he destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas, it appears that the country was at that time very much exposed to the inroads of these foreigners. Yavanas were the Bactrian Greeks, but Kshaharāta Nahapāna does not look a Greek name. He must, therefore, have been either a Śaka or Pahlava. Again, we are told that Gotamiputra left no remnant of the race of Khagārāta or Khakhārāta which name seems to be the same as Kshaharāta or Khaharāta as it is spelled in the Kārli and Junnar inscriptions. It follows, therefore, that the Śakas or Pahlavas made themselves masters of the country some time between the second king in the above list and Gotamiputra Śātākarni, and that they were driven out by Gotamiputra who, by thus recovering the provinces lost to his dynasty, re-established, as stated in the inscription, the glory of the Śātavāhana race to which he belonged. All the other kings named above belonged to that dynasty.

Now, in the Purānas we have lists of kings and dynasties that ruled over the country. The earliest dynasty with which we are here concerned is the Maurya founded by Chandragupta in B.C. 320, as determined by his relations with Seleucus, one of the generals and successors of Alexander the Great. It ruled over Northern India for 137 years according to the Purānas, and the last king Brihadratha was murdered by his general Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra, who founded the Śuṅga dynasty. This was in power for 112 years and was succeeded by the Kāṇva family which ruled for forty-five years. The Kāṇvas were overthrown by Sīraka, Sindhuka, or Śisuka, as he is variously named, who founded what the Purānas call the dynasty of the Andhrabhūtyas, that is, Andhras who were once servants or dependents. The second king of this dynasty was Krishna according to all, the third was Śātākarni or Śrīśātākarni according to the Vāyu or Vishṇu, while the Bhāgavata corrupts the name slightly to Śāntākarna. The Mātsya interposes three more kings between Krishna and Śātākarni, while the Vishṇu has another Śātākarni to correspond with that of the Mātsya. Gotamiputra is the thirteenth prince according to the Vāyu, fifteenth according to the Bhāgavata, seventeenth according to the Vishṇu, and twenty-second according to the Mātsya. Pulimat, Purimat or Pulomat was his successor

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Nahapāna,
a Śaka.

Śakas and
Pahlavas
overthrown by
Gotamiputra.

Purānic
dynasties.

Section V.

The
Śātavāhanas
of the
inscriptions
same as the
Andrabhrityas
of the Purāṇas.

according to the Vishnu, the Bhāgavata, or the Mātsya. These are so many mislections for the Pulumāyi of our inscriptions and coins. The Vāyu omits his name altogether. His successor was Siva Śrī according to the Vishnu and the Mātsya, while the Bhāgavata calls him Vedaśīras, and the Vāyu does not notice him. Yajña Śrī occurs in all, being placed after Sivasakandha, the successor of Siva Śrī, by all except the Vāyu, which assigns to him the next place after Gotamiputra.

Thus then, the names occurring in the inscriptions and on the coins as well as the order sufficiently agree with those given in the Purāṇas under the Andrabhritya dynasty to justify us in believing that the kings mentioned in both are the same. There is, however, no trace of Chatusparṇa Śātakarṇi unless we are to identify him with Chaṇḍaśrī Śātakarṇi. The name Maḍhariputra Śakasana also does not occur in the Purāṇas; and he appears to have belonged to a branch of the dynasty. We shall hereafter assign to him his place in the list. Simuka, whose name occurs in the Nānāghāt inscription, and who, as I have already observed, was an earlier occupant of the throne than the reigning prince Śātakarṇi, the third in the Purāṇic list, must be the same as Śisuka, the founder of the dynasty. For the Devanāgarī *ma* is often so carelessly written as to look like *sa*; hence the true Simuka was corrupted to Sisuka, Śisuka, or Śisuka, in the course of time. The Sindhuka of the Vāyu and the Sīraka of the Vishnu are further corruptions. This identification is rendered probable also by the consideration that he who caused the cave to be constructed, and the statues of himself and the younger princes to be carved, might, to give dignity to his race, be expected to get the founder of the dynasty also represented there, especially as he was removed only one degree from him. In this manner the Andrabhritya dynasty of the Purāṇas is the same as the Śātavāhana dynasty of the inscriptions.

SECTION VI.

CHRONOLOGY OF THE ANDHRABHṚTYAS OR ŚĀTĀVĀHANAS.

THE next question we have to consider is as regards the dates of these princes. In my paper on the Nāsik cave inscriptions¹, I have accepted A.D. 319 as the date of Gotamīputra's accession, arrived at by taking B.C. 315 as the year in which Chandragupta founded the dynasty of the Mauryas at Pāṭaliputra, and 664 years to have elapsed between him and Gotamīputra, since the periods assigned in the Purāṇas to that dynasty and the subsequent ones, and the durations of the reigns of the Andhrabhṛitya princes who preceded Gotamīputra according to the Mātsya when added, give 664. The "race of Khagārāta," which Gotamīputra is, as observed before, represented in one of the Nāsik inscriptions to have exterminated, I identified with the dynasty of the Kshatrapas whose coins are found in Kāthiāvād, as well as a few inscriptions, since Kshaharita or Khagārāta was also a Kshatrapa and had been placed at the head of the dynasty by previous writers. The latest date on the coins of those princes then known was 250, which referred to the Śaka era, is A.D. 328. This comes so close to Gotamīputra's A.D. 319, that the two seemed to corroborate each other. But there are several objections to this view, some of which occurred to me even then. (1)—The inscriptions and coins of the Kshatrapa dynasty concur in carrying the genealogy backward to Chashtana and no further, and as yet nothing has turned up to show that any connection existed between him and Nahapāna. (2)—If the Kshatrapa or Satrap dynasty held sway over Mahārāshṭra for about three hundred years as it did over Kāthiāvād, we might reasonably expect to find in that country inscriptions or coins of most of the princes, but a few coins of the later ones only have been discovered in a village near Karādh² and no inscription whatever. (3)—Rudradāman in his Junāgaḍ inscription calls a Śātakarṇi, 'lord of Dakṣinapatha', which he would not have done if he had been the ruler of even a part of the Dekkan. (4)—And the dates occurring on some Satrap coins recently discovered are said to be 300 and 304³ which referred to the Śaka are A.D. 378 and 382, that is, the Satraps were in power even long after A.D. 340, which is the date of Gotamīputra's death according to the Purāṇic accounts. For these reasons it would appear that the "race" of Khagārāta or Nahapāna which Gotamīputra put an end to and which ruled over this country before him, could not have been the dynasty of the Satraps. (5)—Besides, according to my former view, the interval between Nahapāna and Gotamīputra is about 200 years; but the difference in form between the characters in Ushavadāta's and Gotamīputra's inscriptions is not great enough for that period. Hence the two princes must be brought closer together.

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The dynasty of Nahapāna not the same as that of the Satraps of Ujjayini and Kāthiāvād.

¹ Trans. Or. Congr. 1874.² Jour. R. E. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 16.³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 57, Note, and Genl. Cunningham's Arch. Report, Vol. XI., p. 127.

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Ptolemy's Siro
Polemios the
same as
Siri Pulumayi
and his
Balocucros
the same as
Vijivayakura.

From the Greek geographer Ptolemy we learn that in his time the country inland from the western coast was divided into two divisions of which the northern was governed by Siro Polemios whose capital was Puithan, and the southern by Balocucros who lived in Hippocura. Siro Polemios is evidently the same name as the Siri Pulumāvi or Pulumāyi of the inscriptions corresponding to the Pulomat, or Pulmat of the Purāpas. But there were two kings who bore that name, one the son of Gotamiputra, mentioned in the inscriptions, and another an earlier prince of the Andhrabhritya dynasty. This last does not appear to have been a prince of any note; wherefore very likely the former is the one spoken of by Ptolemy. But the question is almost settled by the mention of Balocucros as the Governor of the southern provinces. We have seen that in the legends on the Kollāpur coins the name Vijivāyakura is associated with that of Pulumāyi and of Gotamiputra. Vijivāyakura is the same as Balocura, and I have already stated that the reason why his name, in my opinion, occurs along with those of the two princes of the Śātavāhana dynasty, and on Kollāpur coins alone, while it does not occur on those found in the lower Godāvari districts, is that he was the viceroy of those princes ruling over the country about Kollāpur. This country answers to the southern division mentioned by the Greek geographer as being governed by Balocucros. The Siro Polemios therefore of Ptolemy is the same as the Pulumāyi of the inscriptions and coins.

Pulumāyi began
reign about
130 A.D.

Ptolemy died in A.D. 163, and is said to have written his work after A.D. 151. Pulumāyi, therefore, must have been on the throne some time before this last date. We will now proceed to reconcile this date with those mentioned in the inscriptions, and to determine more particularly the date of Pulumāyi's accession. Some of Ushavādāta's benefactions were founded in the years 40, 41 and 42, and the latest date connected with Nahapāna is that in the inscription of his minister Ayama at Junnar, *viz.*, 46. These dates should, I think, be referred to the Śaka era. For, we have seen that before the time of Gotamiputra, the country was subject to the incursions of Śakas and other foreign tribes, and the Scythians who are identified with the Śakas had, according to the Greek geographers, established a kingdom in Sīnd and even in Rājputānā. The era known by the name of the Śaka and referred to in all the early copper-plate grants as the era of the Śaka king or kings must have been established by the most powerful of the Śaka invaders,¹ who for the first time obtain-

¹ Prof. Oldenberg thinks Kanishka to be the founder of the era; but this view is, I think, untenable. (1)—A dynasty of three kings only cannot perpetuate an era. The dynasty of the Guptas composed of seven kings was in power for more than a hundred and fifty years, but their era died a natural death in the course of a few centuries. (2)—The characters in Kanishka's inscriptions, especially the *ya* as conjoined with a preceding consonant, are later than those we find in the first century. One has simply to compare Inscription No. 1 in Plate XIII. of the third volume of General Cunningham's Arch. Reports with No. 4 to see the great difference in the forms of the letters in the times of the earliest Kshatrapas and of Kanishka. The former belongs to the time of the Kshatrapa Sodasa and the letters are almost like those we find in Ushavādāta's inscriptions at Nāzik; whilst those in the latter, which is dated in the ninth

ed a permanent footing in the country, and Nahapāna and Chashtāna¹ or his father must have been his Satraps appointed to rule over Western India, and Mālvā. On this supposition the latest date of Nahapāna must correspond to A.D. 124. Gotamiputra or Pulumāyi therefore must have acquired possession of this country after that year. The earliest date of Pulumāyi occurring in the inscriptions is the second year of his reign: and since the inscription could not have borne that date if Nahapāna or his successors had been in power, it is clear that Pulumāyi began to reign after the overthrow of the latter. Now, we also learn from Ptolemy that Tiastenes reigned at Ozene about the time when he wrote, and was therefore a contemporary of Pulumāyi. Tiastenes has, I think, been reasonably identified with Chashtana. But according to the Junāgadh inscription noticed above, Chashtana's grandson Rudradāman was the reigning prince in the year 72, which, taking the era to be the Śaka, is 150 A.D. Chashtana and Pulumāyi therefore could not have been contemporaries in 150 A.D. Ptolemy's account must, in consequence, refer to a period much earlier, i.e. to about the year 132 A.D., since about eighteen or twenty years at least must be supposed to have elapsed between the date of his information when Chashtana was on the throne and the year 150 A.D. when his grandson was in possession of it, his son Jayadāman having occupied it for some time in the interval. Again, in the nineteenth year of Pulumāyi, Gotamiputra was in possession, according to the large inscription at Nāsik, of a good many of those provinces which, according to the Junāgadh inscription, were conquered and ruled over by Rudradāman. The date 72 in the inscription seems to refer to the being swept away by a storm and excessive rain of the dyke on one side of the lake therein mentioned and not to the cutting of the inscription on the rock. So that it is doubtful whether Rudradāman had conquered those

year of Kanishka, are considerably later; and both the inscriptions exist in Mathurā. (3)—There is no ground to believe that Kanishka reigned over Gujārat and Mahrāshtra, but the Śaka era began to be used very early, especially in the last country. (4)—The Guptas whose gold coinage is a close imitation of that of the Indo-Scythian dynasty, came to power in A.D. 319, while the last of the three kings Kanishka, Hushka, and Vāsudeva must, if the reign of the first began in A.D. 78, have ceased to reign about A.D. 178, i.e., about 100 years after the foundation of the dynasty. And the latest date of Vāsudeva is 89. If so, an interval of 140 years must have elapsed between the last of the Indo-Scythian kings and the first Gupta; but the close resemblance in the coinage necessitates the supposition that it was much shorter. Albrun's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era was 241 Śaka, i.e., 319 A.D., has been pronounced unreliable by some antiquarians. As to this point and the era of the Satrap dates, see Appendix A.

¹ Professor Oldenberg considers Chashtana to be a Satrap appointed by Gotamiputra, a supposition which is unwarrantable, since a prince like Gotamiputra whose aim was to expel and destroy foreigners cannot be expected to appoint a foreigner, as Chashtana's name indicates he was, to be a viceroy, and to use a foreign title; and we have seen that Balacocurus, who was a viceroy of that monarch or of his son, did not use that title. Rudradāman, the grandson of Chashtana, appointed, as we see from his Junāgadh inscription, a Pahlava of the name of Savishakha, who was the son of Kulapa, to govern Surāshtra and Anarta. This circumstance confirms what we gather from other sources, namely, that this was a dynasty of princes of a foreign origin, who had adopted Hindu manners and even names, had in some cases entered into marriage alliance with native royal families, and were domiciled in the country.

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provinces before 72 or did so after 72 and before the incision of the inscription. Supposing he conquered them before 72, the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi must correspond at least to the second or third year before A.D. 150, that is, Puṣumāyi must have begun to reign, at the latest, about the year A.D. 130. And even if we understand him to have conquered them after 72, Puṣumāyi's accession cannot be placed much later, for the interval between Chashtāna who was Puṣumāyi's contemporary and his grandson Rudradāman who was reigning in 150 A.D. will be considerably shortened. Nahapāna or his successor must thus have been overthrown by Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi about five or six years at the most after his latest recorded date, viz. A.D. 124.

The history of the relations of these princes appears to be this. Nahapāna was a Satrap ruling over Mahārāshṭra. His capital was probably Junnar since the inscriptions at the place show the town to have been in a flourishing condition about that time, and we have a record there of the gift of his minister. He must have died soon after 46 Saka or A.D. 124. Gotamīputra and Puṣumāyi came from the south-east to regain the provinces lost to their family, overthrew Nahapāna's successor, whoever he was, killed all his heirs, and re-established their power over this side of the country. This appears to be what is meant by Gotamīputra's having been represented in the Nāsik inscription to have "left no remnant of the race of Kṣhātṛa," and to have "regained the prestige of his family." Chashtāna founded or belonged to another dynasty of Satraps which reigned at Ujjayini. In the Junnagad inscription, men of all castes are represented to have gone to Rudradāman and chosen him their lord for their protection;¹ and he is spoken of as having re-established the kingdom that had been lost,² himself assumed the title of the Great Kshatrapa, conquered Akarāvanti, Anūpa, Surāshṭra, Aparānta and other provinces which, as we have seen, were owned by Gotamīputra, and some more, and as having twice subdued Śātākarni, the lord of Dakshināpatha, but still not destroyed him in consequence of his connection³ with him not being remote

Relations of
Gotamīputra and
his successors
with Nahapāna,
Chashtāna and
Rudradāman.

¹ The expression is सर्ववर्गैरभिगम्य खणाप पतित्वे वृत्तेन. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 260, l. 9.

² In Pandit Bhagvānāl's transcript in Vol. VII., Ind. Ant., the reading is अद्वानप्रतिपत्तेन. But in a foot-note Dr. Bühler says that the correct reading may be राज्य for राज. In Dr. Bhatu Dāji's copy of the inscription the word is distinct, p. 118, Vol. VII., Jour B B. R. A. S. Bhatu Dāji and Pandit Bhagvānāl translate this expression by "obtained glory of great exploits by the re-establishment of *deposed kings*," (p. 20, Vol. VII., Jour B B. R. A. S.), and "he who has restored to their thrones *deposed kings*," (p. 260 a, Vol. VII., Ind. Ant.) If राज were the reading, this translation would of course be correct, but with राज्य it is far-fetched. There is nothing here to show that the lost *raja* or kingdom re-established by Rudradāman was any other person's than his own. So that, it looks natural to understand him to have re-established (his own) lost kingdom.

³ The reading is संबावदूरया. It is allowable to insert तै and take it as संबावदूरया. But the sense of the word, which is "remoteness," will not suit the context; as he could not have "acquired a good name," i.e. been esteemed by people for not destroying the Lord of the Dekkan on account of the remoteness of the connection. Remoteness or distance of the country would compel one to let his enemy alone, and there could be no virtue in it. The व therefore in the word must have crept in through mistake; wherefore the true reading must be संबादूरया.

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and acquired a good name on that account. The meaning of all this appears to me to be this. Gotamīputra Śātakarṇi, after having destroyed Nahapāna or his successor, turned his arms against another dynasty of foreigners that was ruling at Ujjayinī. Or the Kshatrapa sovereign of Ujjayinī, Chashtāna, or very probably his son Jayadāman, having observed the growing power of Gotamīputra or Puṣumāyi who had put an end to a kindred family of rulers, and desirous of preventing his further growth, must have attacked him. A fact such as this must be the basis of the popular stories about a king of Ujjayinī having attacked Śālivāhana at Paithān and been defeated by him. Śālivāhana is but another mode of pronouncing Śātavāhana;¹ and Puṣumāyi or Gotamīputra was a Śātavāhana. The ruler of Ujjayinī was defeated and pursued by the victorious Gotamīputra into his own dominions, when the latter subjugated Avantī, Anūpa, Surāshṭra and Aparānta, and dethroned Jayadāman. For a time he and his successors held sway over the territories owned by Chashtāna, but subsequently Rudradāman collected a band of followers, the same as those that are represented in the inscription as having chosen him their lord, and driving away the Śātavāhanas, regained his lost kingdom and got himself crowned as Mahākshatrapa. But as appears from the Supārā coin of Yājña Śrī which bears such striking resemblance to the Kshatrapa coins and is so unlike the Kolhāpur coins of that monarch, large or small, and from the fact that his son Chaturapana was his viceroy or representative, the Śātavāhanas retained possession of a part at least of the Kshatrapa territories up to the time of Yājña Śrī. They even entered into blood relationship with the Kshatrapas, as we learn from the Kānheri inscription, which speaks of the wife of Vāsīṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi being the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa. But Rudradāman pursued his victories and according to his Junāgad inscription twice conquered Śātakarṇi the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, but did not destroy him, and acquired a good name by his forbearance towards one whose connection with him was not remote. Thus the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha that he conquered was Yājña Śrī Śātakarṇi. He could not have been his son Chaturapana; for the expression "non-remoteness of the connection" suits the former better than the latter, as Chaturapana's wife was the daughter of a Mahākshatrapa, perhaps his own and the connection with him was positively close. The re-acquisition of his lost kingdom by Rudradāman took place after the nineteenth year of Puṣumāyi's reign, that is, after about A.D. 149. It is in this way alone that the scraps of information derived from the Greek writers and gathered from inscriptions, coins, and popular legends, as well as the dates, can be made to harmonize with each other.

But the date thus assigned to Gotamīputra is not consistent with that derived from the Mātsya Purāṇa. Our next endeavour, therefore, should be to ascertain whether none of the Purāṇas agrees sufficiently with the conclusion arrived at, and, if any does, to account for the

Dates of the
Andhrabhṛityas
as determined
from the Purāṇic
accounts.

¹ Hemachandra's Prakṛit Grammar.

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great discrepancy between it and the *Mātsya* and others. That there is very little agreement among them as regards the *Audhrabhritya* dynasty, I have already indicated above. The genesis of our Purāṇic literature seems to be this. Certain versified accounts of certain things, purporting to be narrated by a bard to Rishis assembled together at a sacrificial session, were handed down orally from generation to generation; and those were after some time committed to writing. The later Purāṇas, devoted to the exaltation of a particular deity and to the inculcation of certain doctrines, derived their accounts of these things from the earliest written Purāṇas and not from the oral tradition. Of the works of this class which I am going to compare for our present purpose, the oldest appears to me to be the *Vāyu*, and next to it the *Mātsya*. The *Vishṇu* is later, and the *Bhāgavata*, the latest. The text of the old Purāṇas gradually became corrupt, and the authors of the later ones were in some cases misled by their incorrect readings into putting forth statements at variance with the original account. Now the four Purāṇas just mentioned contain general statements about the several dynasties, giving the number of princes belonging to each and its duration in years, and also mention the names of those princes more particularly; while the *Vāyu* and the *Mātsya* give in addition the number of years for which each reigned. Often there is a discrepancy between the general and the particular statements. The duration assigned by them all to the Maurya dynasty, founded by Chandragupta whose date is determined by his relations with the successors of Alexander the Great is justly characterised by Professor Max Müller as the sheet-anchor of Indian chronology, is 137 years. The number of reigning princes given by the *Vāyu* is nine, and by the rest, ten; but the names actually enumerated in the *Vishṇu* only are ten, while the *Vāyu* and the *Bhāgavata* give nine, and the *Mātsya*, only four. The total of the years assigned to each prince by the *Vāyu* is 133 years; so that it is not unlikely that a short reign of four years may have dropped out from the text of that Purāṇa. Thus the general statement about ten princes and 137 years seems to be corroborated, and it appears pretty clear that the text of the *Mātsya* has in this case undergone a good deal of corruption. Thus, if with Dr. Kern we take a.c. 322 as the date of the foundation of the Maurya dynasty, its overthrow and the foundation of the next or the *Sunga* family must have occurred in the year a.c. 185. The *Sungas* are generally stated in all the Purāṇas to have been ten and to have reigned for 112 years, though the expression used in the *Bhāgavata* is not "112 years," but "more than a hundred years." In the actual enumeration, the *Mātsya* omits two, and the *Bhāgavata*, one; and the total of the years assigned to each prince in the *Vāyu* exceeds 112. There is evidently some mistake here; but if we take the general statement to be the correct tradition handed down, the dynasty became extinct in B.C. 73. The dynasty next mentioned is that of the *Kāṇvas* or *Kāṇvāyanas*. There were four princes of this line, and they reigned for forty-five years, though the *Bhāgavata*, through a mistake to be explained hereafter, makes the period to be 345 years. They were

Duration of
the Maurya
dynasty.

Of the *Sungas*,

Of the *Kāṇvas*.

followed by the Andhrabhṛityas. But here, there is a statement in the Vāyu and the Mātsya, the like of which does not occur in the account of the other dynasties. The founder of the Andhrabhṛityas, Sindhuka, according to the first Purāṇa, and Śīśuka, according to the other, is said to have uprooted not only the Kāṇvas, but "whatever was left of the power of the Śūṅgas."¹ And the Kāṇvas are pointedly spoken of as Śūṅgabhrityas or "servants of the Śūṅgas."² It, therefore, appears likely that when the princes of the Śūṅga family became weak, the Kāṇvas usurped the whole power and ruled like the Peshwas in modern times, not uprooting the dynasty of their masters but reducing them to the character of nominal sovereigns; and this supposition is strengthened by the fact that like the Peshwas they were Brāhmins and not Kshatriyas. Thus then these dynasties reigned contemporaneously, and hence the 112 years that tradition assigns to the Śūṅgas include the 45 assigned to the Kāṇvas. The Śūṅgas and the Kāṇvas, therefore, were uprooted, and the family of the Andhrabhṛityas came to power in B.C. 75. In a general way, the number of princes belonging to this line is given as thirty in the Vāyu, the Vishnu, and the Bhāgavata, and twenty-nine in the Mātsya; and the total duration is stated to be 411 years in the first, 456 in the second and the third, and 460 in the fourth. The disagreement here is not great, wherefore the tradition as to thirty princes and about 456 years may be accepted as correct. But the discrepancy between this general statement and the more particular accounts that follow, as well as the disagreement between the several Purāṇas in this last, is very great. This will be apparent from the following table:—

Vāyu		Mātsya		Vishnu.		Bhāgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.	
Sindhuka ..	23	Śīśuka ...	23	Sipraka ..	Name not given; but mentioned as a Vṛishala or Śūdra.	
Krishna ...	10	Krishna ...	18	Krishna	Krishna.	
		Mallakarni ...	10 or 18	Śrī Śāntakarni	Śāntakarna.	
		Puripotasaṅga ...	18	Pāṇipotasaṅga	Pāṇiputasaṅga.	
		Skandhiastambha	18			
Śāntakarni *	56	Śāntakarni	56	Śāntakarni		
		Lambodara ...	18	Lambodara ...	Lambodara.	

¹ काण्वायनस्त (नं त) तो भृत्यः सुशमीय प्रसव्य तम् । सुदानां चैव यच्छेव क्षययित्वा बलं तदा॥

सिन्धुको बन्धनगतीयः प्राप्स्यतीमां वसुधाम् ॥ Vāyu. "A servant of the race of the Andhras having destroyed Subhman of the Kāṇva family with main force and whatever will have been left of the power of the Śūṅgas, will obtain possession of the earth." The statement in the Mātsya is similar.

² चत्वारः षष्ठ्यस्तै त्पाः काण्वायना द्विजाः । Vāyu.

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Vāyu.		Mātsya.		Viṣṇu.	Bhāgavata.
Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Duration of reign in years.	Names.	Names.
Apilava ...	12	Apitaka ...	12	Ivṛṇaka ...	Hivṛṇaka.
		Meghasvāti ...	18	Meghasvāti ...	Meghasvāti.
		Svāti ...	18		
		Skandasvāti ...	7		
		Mṛigendrasvāti-karna	3		
		Kuntalasvāti ...	8		
		Svātakarṇa ...	1		
Patimāvi ...	24	Palomāvi ...	36	Patumat ...	Atamāna.
Nemuhishna ...	25	Gautrakrishna or Naurikpaliya.	25	Arishtakarman.	Anishtakarman Hāleya.
Hāla ...	1	Hāla ...	5	Hāla ...	Talaka.
Septaka or Mandalaka.	5	Mandulaka ...	5		
Purikashona ...	21	Parandrasena ...	5	Pravillasena ...	Purishabhīru.
Satakarni ...	1	Sundara Svāti-karna.	1	Sundara ...	Sunaudana.
Chakora Satakarni	4	Chakora Svāti-karna.	4	Chakora ...	Chakori.
Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...	28	Sivasvāti ...	Sivasvāti.
Gautamiputra ...	21	Gautamiputra ...	21	Gomatiputra ...	Gomatiputra.
		Palumat ...	28	Palumat ...	Parimān(mat).
		Sivasri ...	7	Sivasri ...	Medasiras.
		Sivasakanda ...	7	Sivasakanda ...	Sivasakanda.
Yajñasri Satakarni.	20	Yajñasri Satakarni.	23, 9 or 20	Yajñasri ...	Yajñasri.
Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	6	Vijaya ...	Vijaya.
Dandisri Satakarni.	3	Chandrasri Satakarni.	10	Chandrasri ...	Chandravijān.
Palomavi ...	7	Palomavit ...	7	Palomāreha ...	Sulomadhi.

Thus, the Vāyu has seventeen princes and 272 years and a half; and the Mātsya, thirty and 448 and a half. The Viṣṇu gives twenty-four names and the Bhāgavata, twenty-two. This last Purāṇa has in many cases corrupted the names and confounded Hāla with the Arishtakarman of the Viṣṇu, whom it names Anishtakarman Hāleya. It also omits the fifth prince of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa. The details given in the Mātsya come very close to the general tradition and thus confirm it. Should we then attribute the very great discrepancy between these details and those of the Vāyu to the corruption of the text of the latter? Two or three names might drop away in this manner, but the omission of thirteen names and the reduction of the total duration by 176 years must I think be accounted for in some other way. Besides the tradition about 456 years, there is a statement in the Vāyu Purāṇa, in a verse below, to the effect that the "Andhras will have possession of the earth for three hundred years,"¹ which seems to point to another. That such a tradition existed is indicated by the mistake in the Bhāgavata by which the Kāpvas are assigned three hundred and forty-five years. The original account, which the author of this Purāṇa must have

Two traditions about the duration of the Andhrabhīṭya dynasty—456 and 300 years.

¹ अन्ध्रा भोक्ष्यन्ति वयसां शते द्वे च शतं च वै । Vāyu.

seen, probably assigned forty-five years to the Kāṇvas and three hundred to the next or Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. But since that dynasty was also assigned another duration, viz. 456 years, he connected the "the three hundred" with the preceding, and gave 345 years to the Kāṇvayana family. Now, the manner in which the two traditions are to be reconciled is by supposing that the longer period is made up by putting together the reigns of all the princes belonging to the several branches of the Andhrabhṛitya dynasty. That the younger princes often reigned at Paiṭhaṇ and the elderly ones at Dhanakāṭaka appears clear when we compare the inscriptions with the statement in Ptolemy. When the throne at the principal seat became vacant, the Paiṭhaṇ princes succeeded. But some probably died before their elders and never became kings of Dhanakāṭaka. From an inscription found at Banavāsī by Dr. Burgess it would appear that another branch of that dynasty ruled over Kānarā. The period of three hundred years and the seventeen names given in the Vāyu Purāṇa refer probably to the main branch. The Mātsya seems to me to put together the princes of all the branches, and thus makes them out to be thirty. The total of the years assigned to the several reigns in the Vāyu is 272½, and if we should suppose one or two reigns lasting for about twenty-eight years to have dropped out by the corruption of the text, it would become 300½. Thus then the Vāyu and the Mātsya Purāṇas each give a correct account, but of different things. The Viṣṇu, which gives twenty-four princes, is not entitled to so much credit as the Vāyu. It is a later work and the author's purpose being sectarian, he probably did not care so much for the accuracy of his details, and hence omitted even the duration of each reign. The Bhāgavata is still more careless, as has already been shown.

If then we take the account in the Vāyu Purāṇa to refer to the main branch of the dynasty and consequently generally correct, the period that intervened between the rise of the Śātavāhanas or Andhrabhṛityas and the end of the reign of Śivasvāti is 206 years.¹ The dynasty must, as we have seen, have been founded in a.c. 73, wherefore the end of Śivasvāti's reign and the accession of Gotamīputra must be placed in a.d. 133. We have seen that Puṣumāyi, whose capital was Paiṭhaṇ according to Ptolemy, and who from the inscriptions appears to have been king of this part of the country and to have reigned contemporaneously with his father, must have begun to reign at Paiṭhaṇ about 130 a.d. The father and the son drove the foreigners from the Dekkan, and the son was established as the ruler of the regained provinces, Gotamīputra expecting to succeed to the throne at the original seat of the family. Gotamīputra reigned for twenty-one years according to the Purāṇas, wherefore he must have died in 154 a.d. He was alive, as stated before, in the eighteenth year of Puṣumāyi, i. e. in 148, and also in the nineteenth when the cave temple was dedicated, and not alive in the twenty-fourth, i. e. in 164, according to the two inscriptions

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The lower period refers to the main branch of the family.

Date of the accession and death of Gotamīputra.

¹ By adding up the numbers in the table,

HISTORY OF

Section VII.

Of the other
princes
mentioned in
the inscriptions.

mentioned before. Ptolemy's mention of Pulumāyi I have already referred to about the year 132; so that, the date deduced from this source, and those derived from Gotamiputra's and Pulumāyi's inscriptions at Nāsik and Rudradāman's at Junāgaḍ on the supposition that the era used in this last is the Śaka, as well as those derived from the Purāṇas may thus be shown to be consistent with each other. The dates of all the princes whose names we find in the inscriptions may therefore be thus arranged :

Simuka began to reign in B.C. 73 and ceased in B.C. 50.

Kṛishna began in B.C. 50 and ceased in B.C. 40.

Śātakarni (third in the Vāyu P.) began in B.C. 40 and ceased in A.D. 16.

Nahapāna Kshaharāta.

Gotamiputra began in A.D. 133 and ceased in A.D. 154

Of Pulumāyi.

If the twenty-eight years assigned to Pulumāyi in the Mātsya Purāṇa are to be reckoned from the year of Gotamiputra's death, he must be considered to have begun to reign at Dhanakataka in A.D. 154, and to have ceased in A.D. 182. He reigned at Paithan from A.D. 130 to A.D. 154, that is, for about twenty-four years, and we have seen that the latest year of his reign recorded in the inscriptions at Nāsik and Kārli is the twenty-fourth. Altogether then his reign lasted for fifty-two years. But if the twenty-eight include the twenty-four for which he ruled at Paithan, he must have died in 158. This supposition looks very probable. He was succeeded by Śiṃśrī, whose coin found in the Talagunga districts has been described by Mr. Thomas in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. IX., p. 64. He appears to have been Pulumāyi's brother, since he also is styled on the coin Vāsīthiputa, i.e., Vāsīsthīputra, or the son of Vāsīsthī. He had a reign of seven years and must have died in A.D. 165. Śiṃśrīkanda was the next king, to whom also seven years have been assigned. There is no trace of these two princes on this side of the country; while the name of the next, Yajña Śrī, occurs frequently as we have seen in inscriptions and coins. He appears to have been Pulumāyi's immediate successor at Paithan. His full name was Gotamiputra Yajña Śrī Śātakarni, and he is, as observed before, the Gotamiputra of the Kolhāpur coins. Some copies of the Mātsya assign him twenty-nine years, others nine, and twenty, and the Vāyu, twenty-nine; while the Brahmandā allows him nineteen. Probably he reigned in Mahārāshtra for eighteen or nineteen years, since the sixteenth year of his reign is his latest recorded date, and for twenty-nine years at Dhanakataka since, according to our supposition, the Vāyu Purāṇa gives an account of the Dhanakataka branch and his coins are found in Talagunga. And this is confirmed by what we have already said. Pulumāyi reigned at Dhanakataka for four years and his two successors for fourteen. All this while, i.e., for eighteen years, Yajña Śrī was ruler of Mahārāshtra. He must thus have ceased to reign in the last country in about A.D. 172 and died in about A.D. 202. The next three reigns lasted, according to the Vāyu, for sixteen years. No trace of any of these has yet been found on this side of the country; but coins of Chandra Śrī are found near the original seat of government, and two of these are described by Mr. Thomas in the paper mentioned above. Thus the

Pulumāyi's
successors.

Yajña Śrī.

latest Andhrabhṛitya date is A.D. 218. Maḍharīputa Sakasena of the Kānheri inscription, the same as the Maḍharīputa of the Kolhāpur coins, has been identified with Śiva Śrī, the successor of Puṣyamāyī, by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl, and I also at one time concurred with him. But the identification is not, I think, tenable. He was probably led to it by his reading Śirīśena for Sakasena; but I have shown that the reading is incorrect. Mr. Thomas has described a specimen of eleven coins found at Amravatī near Dharmapikot, the legend on which he reads as *Sakasakasa*, but it is not unlikely *Sakasenasasa*, "of Sakasena." Besides, Maḍharīputa Sakasena could not have been the immediate successor of Puṣyamāyī for a reason which I have already given. One of the Kolhāpur coins figured by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī bears the names of both Gotamīputa and Maḍharīputa, showing that the piece originally bearing the name of one of them was re-stamped with the name of the other. Mr. Thomas thinks that it was originally Maḍharīputa's coin. I think it was Gotamīputa's; for, if we see the other figured coins we shall find that they are so stamped as to leave some space between the rim and the legend. This in the present case is utilized and the name of Maḍharīputa stamped close to the rim, which shows that the thing was done later. Maḍharīputa Sakasena, therefore, must have been a successor of Gotamīputa Yajña Śrī Śātakarṇi. But, as we have seen, none of his three Purāṇic successors bore the name, and the name Śakasena is one which has nothing like it on the long list of the Andhrabhṛityas. Still that king must have reigned at Dhanyakataka also if my surmise that Mr. Thomas' Sakasaka is the same as Sakasena is correct. In the same manner, as observed before, Chatuṣṭarpa Śātakarṇi's name does not appear in the Purāṇas. But the Purāṇas cannot be expected to give accurate information on these points. In the Mātsya Purāṇa another Andhra dynasty of "seven princes sprung from the servants of the original Andhrabhṛitya family will," it is said, "come into power after that family becomes extinct."¹ The Vāyu has got a similar verse the reading of which, however, is corrupt; but it appears that this new dynasty is there meant to be spoken of as having sprung from the Andhrabhṛitya family itself and must have constituted a separate branch cut off from the main line. And we can very well understand from the points already made out how such a branch could have constituted itself after Yajña Śrī's ceasing to reign. Vāsiṣṭhīputra Śātakarṇi whom I have identified with Chaturapana married a Kshatrapa lady. The Kshatrapas, as I have before observed, were foreigners, most probably Śakas who had become Hindus. Maḍharīputa was not unlikely the son of that lady. And thus he and his father Chaturapana formed, from the very fact of this marriage, a distinct line of princes. Chaturapana appears to have succeeded Yajña Śrī; and Maḍharīputa to have reigned after Chaturapana. The durations of these reigns cannot be made out, but the latest date of the former is the thirteenth year of his reign, which probably corre-

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Maḍharīputa
Sakasena.

Chaturapana.

¹ अन्तर्गात् संस्थिता (हे!) राज्ये तेषां भृत्यान्वये नृपाः । सर्वेवाभ्या अभियन्ति-

Section VI.

Dates of the
later
Śātavāhanas.

ponds to 185 A.D. and of the latter the eighth. The dates of the later Śātavāhanas are therefore these :

In Mahārāshtra.

Pulumāyi	...	...	A.D. 130—A.D. 154.
Yājña Śrī	...	...	A.D. 154—A.D. 172.
Chatushparpa or Chaturapana	...	...	A.D. 172—was reigning in A. D. 185.
Maḍhariputra	...	...	About A.D. 190—was reigning in about A.D. 197.

In Tālanāga.

Pulumāyi	...	...	A.D. 154—A.D. 168.
Śiva Śrī	...	...	A.D. 168—A.D. 165.
Śivaskanda	...	...	A.D. 165—A.D. 172.
Yājña Śrī	...	...	A.D. 172—A.D. 202.
Vijaya	...	...	A.D. 202—A.D. 208.
Chandra Śrī...	...	...	A.D. 208—A.D. 211.
Pulomavi	...	...	A.D. 211—A.D. 218.

Thus then, the Audhrabhrityas or Śātavāhanas ruled over the Dekkan from a.c. 73 to about A.D. 218, *i.e.*, for about three centuries. For some time, however, they were dispossessed of the country by foreigners who belonged to the Śaka tribe. How long these were in power it is difficult to determine. If the Śaka era was established by the foreign conqueror after his subjugation of the country, and if his Satrap Nahapāna or his successor was overthrown by Gotamīputra or Pulumāyi, six or seven years after Nahapāna's latest date, *viz.* 46, the foreigners held possession of this country only for about fifty-three years.

SECTION VII.

POLITICAL AND LITERARY TRADITIONS ABOUT THE ŚĀTAVĀHANAS
OR ŚĀLIVĀHANAS.

The period during which the Śātavāhanas or Andrabhrityas ruled over Mahārāṣṭra must have been a prosperous one in the history of the country. Hence several traditions with regard to different kings of this dynasty have been preserved. But that Śālivāhana or Śātavāhana was a family name has been forgotten, and different princes of the dynasty have been confounded and identified. Thus Hemachandra in his *Deśikosa* gives Śālivāhana, Śālana, Hāla, and Kuntala as the names of one individual; but we see from the list given above that the last two were borne by different princes, and both of them were Śālivāhanas. In his grammar he gives Śālivāhana as a Prakrit corruption of Śātavāhana. In modern times the Śaka era is called the Śālivāhana era or an era founded by Śālivāhana. When it began to be attributed to him it is difficult to determine precisely. All the copper-plate grants up to the eleventh century speak of the era as Śakanripakāla, i.e., the era of the Śaka king, or Śakakāla, i.e., the era of the Śaka, and in an inscription at Bādāmi it is stated to be the era beginning from "the coronation of the Śaka king." Subsequently, the simple expression "Śāke, in the year of the Śaka," was used, and thereafter Śake or "in the Śaka." The word Śaka thus came to be understood as equivalent to "an era" generally, the original sense being forgotten. And since the era had to be connected with some great king it was associated with the name of Śālivāhana whom tradition had represented to be such a king; and thus we now use the expression Śālivāhana Śaka, which etymologically can have no sense and is made up of the names of two royal families. The current legend makes Śālivāhana the son of a Brāhmaṇ girl who was a sojourner at Paṭṭhaṇ and lived with her two brothers in the house of a potter. On one occasion she went to the Godāvari to bathe, when Śeṣha, the king of serpents, becoming enamoured of her, transformed himself into a man and embraced her. In due course she gave birth to Śālivāhana, who was brought up in the house of the potter.¹ Some time after, king Vikramāditya of Ujjayini, to whom a certain deity had revealed that he was destined to die at the hands of the son of a girl of two years, sent about his Vetāla or king of Ghosts to find out if there was such a child anywhere. The Vetāla saw Śālivāhana playing with his girlish mother and informed Vikramāditya. Thereupon he invaded Paṭṭhaṇ with a large army, but Śālivāhana infused life into clay figures of horses, elephants, and men, by means of a charm communicated to him by his father, the king of serpents, encountered

Section VII.

Śālivāhana
Śaka.Legend about
Śālivāhana.

¹ The story about the girl and her serpent-lover is in the Kathāsartasāgara mentioned with reference to Guṇāditya who was the son of the girl. Śātavāhana's origin is given differently.

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Vikramāditya, and defeated him. This descent of a king of Ujjayini on Paithan I have already alluded to and endeavoured to explain. The Śālivāhana referred to in this tradition appears to be Puṣyamāyi who in conjunction with his father freed the country from the Śakas and fought with Chashtana or Jayadāman and Rudradāman whose capital appears to have been Ujjayini. It was in consequence of some faint reminiscence of Puṣyamāyi Śālivāhana's relations with the Śakas and their Satrap kings that his name was attached to the era first used by his adversaries.

Śālivāhana's
name in
connection
with the
Bṛhatkathā.

There are also several literary traditions connected with the name of Śātavāhana or Śālivāhana. A work of the name of Brihatkathā written in that form of the Prākṛit which is called the Paisācī or the language of goblins is mentioned by Daṇḍin in his work the Kāvyaḍarsa.¹ Somadeva, the author of the Kathāsaritsāgara, and Kshemendra, the author of another Brihatkathā, profess to have derived their stories from this Paisācī Brihatkathā. The stories comprised in this are said to have been communicated to Guṇādhya, who for some time had been minister to Śātavāhana, by a ghost of the name of Kāpabhūti. They were written in blood and arranged in seven books. Guṇādhya offered them to king Śātavāhana, but he refused to receive such a ghastly work written in blood and in the language of goblins, whereupon Guṇādhya burnt six of them. Some time after, king Śātavāhana having been informed of the charming nature of those stories went to Guṇādhya and asked for them. But the last or seventh book alone remained, and this the king obtained from his pupils with his permission.²

Composition
of the Kātantra
Grammar.

It is narrated in the Kathāsaritsāgara that while Śātavāhana was, on one occasion, bathing with his wives in a tank in a pleasure-garden, he threw water at one of them. As she was tired, she told the king not to besprinkle her with water, using the words *modakaiḥ paritāḍaya mām*. The king not understanding that the first word was composed of two, *mā* "do not" and *udakaiḥ* "with waters," but taking it to be one word meaning "pieces of sweetmeat," caused sweetmeat to be brought and began to throw pieces at the queen. Thereupon she laughed and told the king that he did not know the phonetic rules of Sanskrit, and that while she meant to tell him not to besprinkle her with water, he had understood her to say that she wanted him to throw pieces of sweetmeat at her. There was no occasion for sweetmeat at the place, and this ought to have led the king to the true sense; but he was not. Thereupon the king was ashamed of his own ignorance while his queen was so learned, and became disconsolate. Guṇādhya and Śarvavarman, who were his ministers, were informed of the cause; and the former promised to teach him grammar in six years, though it was a study of twelve. Śarvavarman, however, offered to teach the subject in six months, and his offer was accepted; but as it was not possible to do so, Śarvavarman propitiated the god Kārtikeya or Skanda by his self-

¹ नृत्तभाषावर्षी प्राहुरकुतार्थी बृहत्कथाय्.

² Kathāsaritsāgara, II. 8.

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modifications, and the god communicated to him the first Sūtra of a new grammar *Siddho Varnasamāndyah*. Thereupon Śarvavarman repeated the other Sūtras, when Kārtikeya said that if he had not been so hasty and allowed him to repeat the whole, the new grammar would have become superior to Pāṇini's; but since it could not be so now, it would be a small treatise—*Kātantra*, and would also be called *Kālapaka* after the tail of his peacock. This new grammar Śarvavarman taught to the king.¹ The same story is told by Tārānātha in his "History of Buddhism";² but he makes the name of the king to be Udayana, and of Śarvavarman, Saptavarman; while the competitor of Śarvavarman is represented by him to be Vararuchi instead of Guṇādhyā. But Udayana is represented as a king reigning in Southern India and Śātavāhana in the form of Śāntivāhana is also mentioned in connection with the story as a southern king in whose dominions Vararuchi lived. As Udayana frequently figures in Buddhistic stories, the southern prince Śātavāhana is confounded with him, and this seems to be indicated by the fact that this Udayana is represented to have ruled over a country in the south, though the usual Udayana is a northern prince. It will thus appear that the *Kātantra* grammar was composed by Śarvavarman at the request of a prince of the Śātavāhana family. And this same thing appears to be alluded to even by Hwan Thsang when he says in connection with the shortening of the originally large work on grammar by Pāṇini and others, "lately a Brāhmaṇ of South India, at the request of a king of South India, reduced them further to 2,500 ślokas. This work is widely spread, and used throughout all the frontier provinces, but the well-read scholars of India do not follow it as their guide in practice."³

There is a work written in the old Mahārāṣṭrī dialect called *Saptasatī*, which is of the nature of an anthology consisting of Gāthās or stanzas in the Ārya metre, mostly on love matters. The author of this is in the third verse mentioned as Hāla, and ordinarily he is spoken of as Śālivāhana. Bāṇa speaks of it in a verse in the introduction to his *Harshacharita* as "an imperishable and refined repository of good sayings composed by Śālivāhana." Verses from it are quoted in Dharmika's commentary on the *Daśarūpaka*, in the *Sarasvatī Kaphābharaṇa*, and in the *Kāvya-prakāśa*. There is, it will be observed, in the list of the Andhrabhritya princes, one of the name of Hāla, who probably was either the author of the work or to whom it was dedicated by a court-poet. From these traditions we may, I think, safely conclude that literature flourished under the rule of the Andhrabhrityas, and that the Prakṛiti or spoken languages, especially the Mahārāṣṭrī, were probably for the first time used for literary purposes. In Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* or Institutes of Love, Kuntala Śātakarui Śātavāhana is spoken of as having killed Malayavati, who is called

Hāla's
Saptasatī.Kuntala
Śātakarui.¹ Kathāsaritsāgara, VI. 106 & ff.² Schiefner's Translation, p. 73 & ff.³ Life of Hwan Thsang, Beal's Trans., p. 122.

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Mahādevī, and consequently must have been his chief queen, by means of a pair of scissors in connection with certain amorous sports.¹ The name Kuntala occurs in the list given in the Mātsya Purāṇa.

¹ कर्तव्य कन्तलः शातकार्णः शातवाहनो महादेवी मलयवती [जयान] Prof. Aufrecht's quotation in the Oxf. Cat., p. 217 b., does not contain the name मलयवती, and he supplies गणिका from the preceding clause; but a Gāṇikā or courtesan cannot be called Mahādevī.

SECTION VIII.

RELIGIOUS, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA
UNDER THE ANDHRABHĪTTAS OR S'ĀTAVĀHANAS.

DURING this period the religion of Buddha was in a flourishing condition. Princes and chiefs calling themselves Mahābhōjas and Mahārāṭhis, merchants (Naigamas), goldsmiths (Suvārṇakāras), carpenters (Vardhakas), corn-dealers (Dhānyakāśrenis), druggists (Gāṇḍhikas), and ordinary householders (Grihasthas) caused at their expense temples and monasteries to be excavated out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of that religion. It has been mentioned that in the first part of this period the country was exposed to the inroads of foreign tribes, such as Yavanas or Bactrian Greeks, S'akas, and Pahlavas. These afterwards settled in the country and adopted the Buddhist religion. For, among the donors and benefactors whose names are recorded in the cave inscriptions, there are a good many S'akas and Yavanas. But some and especially the S'akas seem to have adopted Brāhmanism. The Buddhist temples were provided with *chaityas* or tombs in imitation of those in which some relic of Buddha was buried, and these were objects of worship. The monasteries contained cells intended as residences for Bhikshus or mendicant priests. These travelled over the country during the year and spent the four rainy months at one of these monastic establishments. In the month of S'rāvana the monks held the ceremony of robing, at which the old clothes were thrown away and new ones worn. To provide these for them, charitable persons deposited, as we have seen, sums of money with certain guilds with directions that out of the interest new robes should be purchased and given to the priests. Villages were assigned by kings and their officers for the support of these religious establishments. The mendicant priests often travelled by sea; and hence at the head of several of the creeks in the Konkan we have cave monasteries intended as Dharmaśālās or rest-houses for them. We have such caves at Chiplun, Mahād, and Nandem situated respectively on the Dābhol, the Binkot, and the Rājapuri creeks. For those who landed at the head of the Bombay harbour or at Ghodbandar, there were the Kānheri caves.

Brāhmaṇism also flourished side by side with Buddhism. In the inscription at Nāsik in which Ushavadāta dedicates the cave monastery excavated at his expense for the use of the itinerant "priests of the four quarters," he speaks, as we have seen, of his many charities to Brāhmaṇs. The same notions as regards these matters prevailed then as now. Ushavadāta fed a hundred thousand Brāhmaṇs as the Mahārāj Sindia did about thirty years ago. It was considered highly meritorious to get Brāhmaṇs married at one's expense then as now. Gotamiputra also, in the same inscription which records a benefaction in favour of the Buddhists, is spoken of as the only protector of Brāhmaṇs, and as having like Ushavadāta

Section VIII.

Founders of
Benefactions.

Wandering
Buddhist
mendicants.

Brāhmaṇism
equally with
Buddhism in
a flourishing
condition.

Section VIII.

Trade and
Commerce.

Identification
of towns and
cities.

put them in the way of increasing their race. Kings and princes thus appear to have patronized the followers of both the religions, and in none of the inscriptions is there an indication of an open hostility between them.

Trade and commerce must also have been in a flourishing condition during this early period. Ships from the western countries came, according to the author of the *Periplus*, to Barugaza or Bharukachchha, the modern Bharoch; and the merchandize brought by them was thence carried to the inland countries. Onyx stone in large quantities from Paithan, and ordinary cottons, muslins, mallow-coloured cottons, and other articles of local production from Tagara, were carried in waggons to Barugaza and thence exported to the west. Paithan is placed by the author of the *Periplus* at the distance of twenty days' journey to the south of Barugaza, and is spoken of as the greatest city in Dakhinabades or Dakshināpatha, and Tagara, ten days' east of Paithan.¹ This town has not yet been identified. Its name does not occur in any of the cave inscriptions, but it is mentioned in a copper-plate grant of the first half of the seventh century; and princes of a dynasty known by the name of Silāhāra call themselves "sovereigns of Tagara, the best of towns," in all their grants. Some have identified it with Devaguri and others with Junnar, but in both cases its bearing from Paithan as given by the Greek geographers has not been taken into account. I have elsewhere discussed the question, and have proposed Dhārur in the Nizām's territory as the site of the ancient city. The other sea-port towns mentioned in the *Periplus* are Souppara, the modern Supārem or Supārī near Bassin and the Sorparaka of the inscriptions and the Purānas, where interesting Buddhistic relics were dug out by Mr. Campbell and Pandit Bhagvānlāl; Kalliena, the modern Kalyān, which must have been a place of great commercial importance since a good many of the donors whose names are inscribed in the caves at Kānheri and some mentioned in the caves at Junnar were merchants residing in Kalyān;² Semulla identified with Chembur by some and with Chanl by others; Mandagora, very likely the same as the modern Māndād, originally Mandagada, situated on the Rājapuri creek near Kudem where we have the caves; Palai-patmai, which probably was the same as Pāl which is near Mahād; Melzeigara, the second part of the name of which can at once be recognized as Jayagaḍ and which must be identified with that place whatever the first part Meli may mean; Buzantion, and others. Buzantion is probably the Vijayanti³ of the inscriptions, but with what modern town it is to be identified it is difficult to say. Vijayanti is mentioned in the Kadamba copper-plates translated by Mr. Telang,⁴ and was most probably some place in North Kānara.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., pp. 143, 144.

² See the inscriptions in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI., and in Arch. Surv., W. India, No. 10.

³ Kāli No. 1, Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII, pp. 318 and 321.

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In a grant of the Vijayanagar dynasty, Mīdhava, the great counsellor of king Harihara, is represented to have been appointed viceroy of Jayantipura. He then conquered Goa and seems to have made that his capital.¹ Jayantipura is said to be another name for Banavāsi. In the *Sabhāparvau* of the *Mahābhārata*, Banavāsi is spoken of as if it were the name of a country, and immediately after it, Jayanti is mentioned as a town.² If then Jayanti and Vijayanti were two forms of the same name, Vijayanti was probably the modern Banavāsi, or perhaps in consideration of the facts that the name of Vijayanti occurs in an inscription at Kārli and also that the Greek geographers in mentioning the places of note on the coast could not have run at once from Jayagṛ to the southern limit of North Kānarā, Vijayanti may be identified with Vijayadurg. But these objections are not of very great weight.

Inland towns.

It is not possible to ascertain the names of all the towns in the inland country that were in a flourishing condition during the time we have been speaking of. Besides Paithan and Tagara there was Nāsik, which is mentioned in an inscription in one of the caves at the place and also at Beḍṣā. The district about the town was called Govardhana. Junnar was another flourishing town, as is attested by the number of cave-temples at the place. But what its name was we do not know. The name Junnar, Junanara, Jārṇanagara, or Jīrnanagara, which means the old town, must have been given to it after it had lost its importance. I have already expressed my belief that it was the capital of Nahapāna. Puṣumāyi, who overthrew the dynasty of Nahapāna, is in one of the Nāsik inscriptions styled "lord of Navanara," meant probably for Navanagara or the new town. That he reigned at Paithan we know from Ptolemy, and also from the many traditions about Śālivāhana which locate the person or persons bearing that name at that city. The Navanara, then, of the inscription was probably another name given to the town when Puṣumāyi re-established his dynasty, and, in contrast with it, Nahapāna's capital was called the "Old Town." Or perhaps Puṣumāyi widened the old town of Paithan and called the new extension Navanara. What town existed near the group of caves at Kārli and the adjoining places, we do not know. But the place spoken of in connection with the monastic establishment is in an inscription named Valuraka,³ and the district in which it was situated is called Māmalāhāra,⁴ or the district of Māmala, the modern Māval. Further south there was the town of Karahātaka, the modern Karhād, which is mentioned in an inscription at Kuḍen⁵ and also in the *Mahābhārata*.⁶ Kolhāpur also must have been a flourishing town in those days, since a Buddhistic stūpa containing the coins

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 115.

² Chap. XXXI, vv. 69 and 70, Bom. Ed. The *Vanavāsikah* at the end of v. 69 refers to the town or country of Banavāsi and ought properly to appear as *Vanavāsikā*. In the *Purāṇas*, too, *Vanavāsikah* is given as the name of a people.

³ No. 14, Kārli. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

⁴ *Ibid.* No. 19.

⁵ No. 30, Kuḍā Caves. Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

⁶ In the place above referred to.

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we have already noticed and other remains of antiquity have been found there. The old name of the place is unknown. Either Karhād or Kolhāpur must be the Hippocura of Ptolemy in which he locates Baleocuros whom we have identified with the Viḷivāyakura of the Kolhāpur coins.

Trade-guilds.

Persons engaged in trade and commerce probably acquired large fortunes. The great *charitya* cave at Kārli was caused to be constructed by a Seth (Sreshṭhin) of Vajrayanti, and in other places also, especially at Kānheri, their gifts were costly. There were in those days guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, &c. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *nigamasabdhā* or town-corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadāta's Nāsik inscriptions, which shows that something like municipal institutions existed in those early days. It is also worthy of remark that the yearly interest on the 2000 *kāśhāpāyas* deposited by Ushavadāta was 100 *kāśhāpāyas*, and in another case that on 1000 was 75 showing that the rate of interest was not so high as it has been in recent times, but varied from five to seven and a half per cent. per annum. If the rate of interest depends on the degree of security and bears an inverse ratio to the efficiency of government, it appears that the country was well governed notwithstanding political revolutions. To this result the efficient local organization spoken of above, which no changes of dynasties ever affected, must no doubt have contributed in a large measure.

Rate of interest.**Communication between different parts of the country.**

Communication between the several provinces does not appear to have been very difficult. Benefactions of persons residing in Vajrayanti or Banavāsi, and Sorparaka or Supārī, are recorded in the cave at Kārli; of a Nāsik merchant at Beḍḍā; of some inhabitants of Bharukachchha and Kalyān at Junnar, of natives of Northern India and Dattātrimi, which I have elsewhere shown was situated in Lower Sindh, at Nāsik; and of an iron-monger of Karahākaḍa or Karhād at Kuḍem. On the other hand, gifts of natives of Nāsik and Karhād are recorded on the stūpa at Bharhut which lies midway between Jabalpur and Allahābād.¹ Unless there were frequent communications between these places, it is not possible that the natives of one should make religious endowments at another.

¹ Cunningham's Stupa of Bharhut, pp. 131, 135, 136, 138, 139.

SECTION IX.

PROBABLE HISTORY OF THE PERIOD BETWEEN THE EXTINCTION OF
THE ANDHRABHŪTĪYAS AND THE RISE OF THE CHĀLUKYAS.

FOR about three centuries after the extinction of the Andhrabhūtiyas, we have no specific information about the dynasties that ruled over the country. The Mātsya and the Vāyu, as observed before, place seven princes of a branch of the Andhrabhūtiyas after them, and I have given reasons to believe that the Madhariputra of the inscription and the coins referred to before was one of them. This branch seems to have been in possession of the whole extent of the country that was ruled over by their predecessors. If the fact, noticed before, of some coins of the later Kshatrapa kings being found in a village near Karhād is to be regarded as evidence of their sway over this country and not to be attributed merely to commercial intercourse, the Kshatrapa dynasty also must be considered to have obtained possession of a portion at least of the Dekkan after the Śātavāhanas. The earliest of these princes is Vijaya Sāha¹ (or Sena) whose date is 144² which, if the era is that of the Śaka kings, corresponds to A.D. 222, while the latest date we have assigned to the Śātavāhanas is about A.D. 218. The last of the princes whose coins are found near Karhād is Viśva Sāha (Senna), one of whose coins has the date 214 and another 224, corresponding to A.D. 292 and A.D. 302.³ About this time princes of the race of Ābhīras or cowherds must have come into power. Ten of them are mentioned in the Purāṇas. In the Nāsik caves there is an inscription dated in the ninth year of Virasena Ābhīra, the son of Damari and of Śivadatta Ābhīra.⁴ The characters in the inscription, though they do not differ much from those in the inscriptions of the later Andhrabhūtiya kings, must be regarded as more modern. The language is Sanskrit, which I regard as an indication of a later era. When the popular dialect became different from the Pāli, or the Pāli became less sacred, the people fell back upon the original Sanskrit for such purposes as those of recording religious gifts; and thus in all the later grants we find the Sanskrit used, while, from the times of Aśoka to the extinction of the Andhrabhūtiyas, the language used was mostly the Pāli, or, to speak more accurately, one or more of the Prākṛits of the period. The Ābhīras were in power for sixty-seven years according to the Vāyu Purāṇa. Many other dynasties are mentioned in the Purāṇas as having ruled over the country. But the information given there is much more confused than in the case of the previous families. It appears that the dynasties that ruled over different parts of India at the same time are put together and confused with those that succeeded each other, so that it is not possible without extraneous assistance to determine their chronological relations.

Section IX.

Ābhīras.

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., p. 17. * *Ibid.* p. 28 (No 10). * *Ibid.* No. 15.⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VII., No. 16, and Trans. Inter. Con. 1874, p. 341.

Section IX.

Rāshtrakūṭas.

We have seen from the cave inscriptions that from remote times tribes of Kshatriyas calling themselves Bhojas and Rāṭṭhis or Rāshṭrikas were predominant in the country. In the northern part of the Dekkan or Mahārāshṭra these called themselves "the Great Rāṭṭhis or Mahārāṭṭhis, the ancient Marāṭhās," but in other places the name in use must have been Rāṭṭhis or Rāṭṭhas, since we know of more modern chiefs in the Southern Marāṭhā Country who called themselves by that name. Some of the Rāṭṭha tribes must have formed themselves into a family or group (kūṭa) and called themselves Rāṭṭhakūṭa, and later on Rāṭṭhōḍa, the Sanskrit original of which is Rāshtrakūṭa. Or the Rāshtrakūṭa family was so called because it was the main branch of the race of the Rāṭṭhas that had spread over the whole country. These native chiefs that ruled over the country must have been held in subjection by the Andhrabhrīyas during the continuance of their power, and also by the later Kshatrapas. But after the dynasties became extinct they must have resumed their independence. The Ābhīras held sway for some time and over a part of the country only; for the tradition of Gauḷi or cowherd rulers which very probably refers to them is confined to the Nāsik and Khāndes districts. The Rāshtrakūṭas probably rose to power about the same time as the Ābhīras. Hence in the inscriptions on the Miraj plates and the Yevur tablet first brought to light by Mr. Wathen and Sir Walter Elliot,¹ respectively, it is stated that Jaysinṇha, the founder of the Chālukya dynasty in the Dekkan, established himself in the country after having vanquished Indra, the son of Kṛishṇa of the Rāshtrakūṭa family. The Chālukya dynasty was, as will hereafter be seen, founded in the beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era. From about the end of the third to the beginning of the sixth century, therefore, the Dekkan was ruled over by princes of the Rāshtrakūṭa family.

Traikūṭakas.

An inscription on copper-plates found in the *chaitya* of one of the caves at Kānheri is dated in the 245th year of a dynasty, which, if the word has been correctly lithographed, is called Strakūṭaka.² But the published copy of the inscription was made in the time of Dr. Bird and the plates themselves are not now available for re-examination. This Strakūṭaka may be a mislection for Rāshtrakūṭa. But it is not unlikely Traikūṭaka, as the late Paṇḍit Bhagvānūl contended. He has published a copper-plate charter issued from the camp of the victorious army of Traikūṭakas by a prince of the name of Darhaseṇa³ in the year 207. Traikūṭaka was thus probably the name of a race and the prince belonged to it. And the Kānheri inscription would show that this dynasty had an era of its own. From the form of the characters in the inscription, it appears that it was engraved in the latter part of the fifth century of the Christian era; so that the Traikūṭaka dynasty was founded about the middle of

¹ Jour. R. A. S., Vols. II., III., IV.; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 12.

² Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. V., p. 16, of the copies of the Kānheri inscription.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 346.

the third century, *i. e.* after the extinction of the Śātavāhanas. But further information about the dynasty is not available ; and we do not know over what extent of country it ruled. But since the epoch of the era appears to be the same as that of the era used by the kings of Chedi, possibly the race of the Haihayas or Kalachuris which ruled over that province rose to power about 249 A.D. and held sway over a part of the Dekkan including the western coast up to the country of Lāt. They were afterwards driven away by some other race and had to confine themselves to Chedi. The resemblance between the names Tripura the capital of the dynasty and Trikuṣa is perhaps not fortuitous.

SECTION X.

THE EARLY CHĀLUKYAS.

Section X.

Legendary
origin.

WE will next proceed to an account of the princes who belonged to the dynasty called Chalikya, Chalukya, or Chalikya.¹ A large number of inscriptions on copper-plates and stone tablets have amply elucidated the history of this dynasty. The legendary origin of this family is thus given by Bilhana, the author of the Vikramānāṇḍavacharita, or life of Vikramāditya a prince of the later or restored Chālukya line. On one occasion when Brahmadeva was engaged in his morning devotions, Indra came up to him and complained of the sinfulness of the world in which no man performed the sacrificial rites or gave oblations to the gods. Brahmadeva looked at his *chuluka* or the hand hollowed for the reception of water in the course of his devotional exercise, and from it sprang a mighty warrior who became the progenitor of the Chālukya race. Some time after, two great heroes of the name of Hārita and Mānava were born in the family and they raised it to very great distinction. The original seat of the dynasty was Ayodhya, and in the course of time a branch of it established itself in the south.

As stated in the opening lines of all the copper-plate grants of this family, the Chālukyas belonged to the Gotra or race of Mānava and were the descendants of Hārita. They were under the guardianship of the Seven Mothers and were led to prosperity by the god Kārtikeya. They obtained from Nārāyaṇa a standard with a boar represented on it, and fighting under that standard they subjugated all kings. The Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates, referred to above, agree with Bilhana in representing Ayodhya as the original seat of the family. But since these were almost contemporaneous with the poet, all the three represent only the tradition that was current in the eleventh century. The first prince who raised the family to

¹ Dr. Fleet draws a distinction between Chalukya and Chālukya and asserts that "this last form belongs only to the restored dynasty commencing with Taila II" and that "it does not occur in any of the genuine early inscriptions." But it does belong to the earlier dynasty also, and is found in genuine early inscriptions. The best way to determine the point whether the first syllable was च or च् is to refer to verses containing the name, the metre of which will show the quantity unmistakably. The inscriptions of the earlier dynasty are in prose; we must therefore refer to the versified grants of the Rāshtrakūṭas which speak of the dynasty supplanted by them. In the Rādhanpur grant of Govinda III. (Ind. ant., Vol. VI., p. 65), we have यथाचुलुक्यकुलाद्-
नून &c., in verse 3. In the Navasari grant edited by me (Jour. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. XVIII., p. 257), we have चालुक्यवंशनलयेः स्वयमेव लक्ष्मीः &c. In three of the five grants of the eastern branch of the early dynasty edited by Dr. Hultzsch we have चालुक्यानां कुलम् (South Indian Inscriptions, Vol. I., pp. 44, 47 & 57). The form चलुक्य is also frequently used. The distinction between च and च् and the difference in sense in consequence of the lengthening of the vowel which Dr. Fleet points out have place in the pure Sanskrit of Pāṇini and of the Brāhmas; but there is no room for them in names that came into use in the Prākṛit period long after Sanskrit became a dead language. Chalukya was some vernacular name which was Sanskritised into the various forms we actually find.

distinction in the south was Jayasimha. He fought several battles with the reigning princes, and, among them, those belonging to the Rashtrakūṭa family, if the Yevur tablet is to be trusted, and acquired the sovereignty of the country. After him reigned Rāṇarāga, who was a prince of great valour and had a stately and gigantic person. He was succeeded by his son Pulakeśi, who performed a great *Aśvamedha* or horse-sacrifice and attended equally to the concerns of this world and the next. He made Vātāpīpura, which has been identified with Bādāmi in the Kalādgi district, his capital. He appears to have been the first great prince of the family; for, in all the subsequent grants the genealogy begins with him. His full title was Satyaśraya Śrī Pulakeśi Vallabha Mahārāja. Of these words, *Vallabha* appears to be the title of all princes of this dynasty. In some cases, *Vallabha* had *Prithvī* prefixed to it, so that the expression meant "the Lover or Husband of the Earth." *Satyāśraya* or "the Support of Truth" was inherited by some of the later princes. Pulakeśi's son Kirtivarman succeeded to the throne after him. He subjugated a family of princes of the name of Nalas; but over what province it ruled we do not know. He also subdued the Mauryas, who, from a statement in an inscription at Aiholē¹ upon which this account is principally based, seem to have been chiefs of northern Konkan, and reduced also the Kadambas of Banavāsī in North Kānarā.

Kirtivarman had three sons at least, who were all young when he died. His brother Maṅgalīśa therefore came to the throne after him. Maṅgalīśa vanquished the Kalachuris, a family of princes ruling over the country of Chedi, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur near Jabalpur. Buddha son of S'ankaragana, whom he is represented in one grant² to have conquered and put to flight must have been a Kalachuri prince, as the name Saṅhkaragana frequently occurs in the genealogy of the dynasty. Maṅgalīśa is said to have carried his arms to both the eastern and the western seas. On the coast of the latter he conquered what is called Revatidvīpa, or the Island of Revati. A copper-plate grant by a governor of this island was found near Goa,³ from which it would appear that Revati was very probably the old name of Redī⁴ situated a few miles to the south of Vengurlerū. In an inscription in a cave-temple at Bādāmi, it is stated that the temple⁵ was caused to be excavated by Maṅgalīśa. He there placed an idol of Viṣṇu, and on the occasion of its consecration granted a village, out of the revenues of which a ceremony called Nārāyaṇabali was to be performed and sixteen Brāhmanas to be fed every day, and the residue to be devoted to the maintenance of recluses. This inscription is dated in the twelfth year of some reign when 500 years of the Śaka era had elapsed. The reign in the

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Jayasimha, the
first prince
Rāṇarāga.

Pulakeśi I.

Kirtivarman.

Maṅgalīśa.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 241.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 161. See also Vol. XIX., p. 17.

³ Journ. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., pp. 365-6.

⁴ Revati should, according to the usual rules, be corrupted to Revadī or Re-a-dī and then to Redī.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. III., p. 305.

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twelfth year of which the cave-temple was consecrated is taken to be the reign of Maṅgalīśa. On this supposition Maṅgalīśa began to reign in 489 Śaka; but I have elsewhere¹ brought forward what I consider to be very strong arguments to show that Maṅgalīśa could not have come to the throne so early as that, and the only criticism² that I have seen on my observations seems to me to be very unsatisfactory and serves only to confirm my statement. The reign referred to, therefore, is that of Kirtivarman, and if its twelfth year fell in 500 Śaka, Kirtivarman must have come to the throne in 489 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 567. In that inscription Maṅgalīśa assigns all the good fruits of his charities to his brother in the presence of the gods Āditya and Agni and of the assembled crowd of men, and claims to himself only the fruit arising from serving his brother faithfully. In the copper-plate grant of the governor of Revati, referred to above, Śaka 532 is mentioned as the twentieth year of the reign of a prince who, from the titles given there and from the fact that Maṅgalīśa had about that period conquered the island, must have belonged to the Chālukya family. He could not have been Kirtivarman, for the island was not conquered in his time, neither could he be the successor of Maṅgalīśa who, as I shall presently state, got possession of the throne in 533 Śaka. He must therefore have been Maṅgalīśa himself, and if Śaka 532 was the twentieth year of his reign, he must have begun to reign in 513 Śaka.³ Kirtivarman thus reigned from 489 Śaka or A.D. 567 to 513 Śaka or A.D. 591, that is, for twenty-four years.

Death of
Maṅgalīśa.

In the latter years of his reign Maṅgalīśa seems to have been engaged in intrigues to keep his brother's son Pulakeśi off from the succession and to place his own son on the throne. But Pulakeśi, who had grown to be a prince of remarkable abilities, baffled all his intrigues, and by the use of energy and counsel he neutralized all the advantage that Maṅgalīśa had by the actual possession of power, and in the attempt to secure the throne for his son, Maṅgalīśa lost his own life and his kingdom.

Pulakeśi II

Pulakeśi, the son of Kirtivarman, succeeded. His full title was Satyaśraya Śrī Prithvī-Vallabha Mahārāja. From a copper-plate⁴

¹ Jour. B B R A. S., Vol. XIV., pp. 23—25.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. X., 57-58.

³ See also the arguments used by me in the paper referred to above. In a recently published article Dr. Fleet places the accession of Maṅgalīśa in 521 Śaka current, being led to it by the occurrence in an inscription of that prince of the words राज्य पञ्चमश्री वर्षे प्रवर्त्तमाने सिद्धार्थे. I have carefully examined the facsimile of the inscription given in the article; and am satisfied that this is by no means the correct reading. राज्य and प्रवर्त्तमाने are the only words that are certain and perhaps the word श्री also. But पञ्चम is highly doubtful; the letter which Dr. Fleet reads म is exactly like that which he reads ष; and there is some vacant space after ष and म in which something like another letter appears. Similarly the सि of सिद्धार्थे is hardly visible as an independent letter, and the next two letters are also doubtful. Besides in no other inscription of the early Chālukyas does the cyclic year appear. (See Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 9 and ff.)

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 73.

grant executed in the third year of his reign and in 535 S'aka, he appears to have come to the throne in 533 S'aka or A.D. 611. After Maṅgalīśa's death, the enemies whom his valour had kept in subjection rose on all sides. A prince of the name of Appāyika and another named Govinda who very probably belonged to the Rāshtrakūṭa race, since that name occurs frequently in the genealogy of that family, attacked the new Chālukya king. The former, who had horses from the northern seas in his army, fled away in fear when opposed by the powerful forces of Pulakeśi, and the latter surrendered to him and becoming his ally was received into favour and rewarded.¹ He then turned his arms against the Kadambas, attacked Banavāsī, their capital, and reduced it. The prince of the Gaṅga family which ruled over the Chera² country situated about the modern province of Maisur, and the head of the Alupa³ race which probably held the province of Malabār, became his allies. He then sent his forces against the Mauryas of the Konkan, who were vanquished without any difficulty. With a fleet of hundreds of ships he attacked Purī,⁴ which was the mistress of the western sea, and reduced it. The kings of Lāṭa, Mālava, and Gūjrara were conquered and became his dependents. About this time, there was a powerful monarch in Northern India whose name was Harshavaradhana. He was king of Kauoj, but in the course of time made himself the paramount sovereign of the north. He then endeavoured to extend his power to the south of the Narmadā, but was opposed by Pulakeśi, who killed many of his elephants and defeated his army. Thenceforward, Pulakeśi received or assumed the title of Paramesvara or lord paramount. This achievement was by the later kings of the dynasty considered the most important, and that alone is mentioned in their copper-plate grants in the description of Pulakeśi II. Pulakeśi appears to have kept a strong force on the banks of the Narmadā to guard the frontiers. Thus, by his policy as well as valour, he became the supreme lord of the three countries called Mahārāshtrakas containing ninety-nine thousand villages. The kings of Kosala and Kalunga⁵ trembled at his approach and surrendered to him. After some time he marched with a large army against the king of Kāñchipura or Conjeveram and laid siege to the town. He then crossed the Kāveri and invaded the country of the Cholas, the Pāṇḍyas, and the Keralas. But these appear to have become his allies. After having in this manner established his supremacy throughout the south, he entered his capital and reigned in peace. The date of the inscription from which the greater

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 242, line 8 of the inscription. From the words *cha*, *ekena* and *aparena* it is clear that two persons are here meant. But Dr. Fleet in his translation makes both of them one, which is a mistake; and the translation, I must say, is unintelligible.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 363, and Vol. VII., p. 168.

³ The name of the royal family seems to be preserved in the name of the modern town of Alupai on the Malabār Coast.

⁴ The town is called the Lakshimi of the Western Ocean. It was probably the capital of the Maurya king of the Konkan and afterwards of the Śilāhāra.

⁵ For the position of these countries, see loc. cit. III. para. 2.

Section X.

Hwan Thsang's
account.

portion of this narrative is taken is 556 Saka, corresponding to A.D. 634, so that Pulakesi's career of conquest had closed before A.D. 634.

It was in the reign of this king that Hwan Thsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim, visited India. In the course of his travels through the country he visited Mahārāshtra, which he calls *Mo-ho-la-cha*. He saw Pulakesi, whom he thus describes: "He is of the race of *Tsa-tu-li* (Kshatriyas); his name is *Pu-lo-ki-she*; his ideas are large and profound and he extends widely his sympathy and benefactions. His subjects serve him with perfect self-devotion."¹ About Pulakesi's having withstood the power of Harshavardhana which we have before mentioned on the authority of inscriptions, Hwan Thsang speaks in these words. "At present the great king Śīlāditya (Harshavardhana) carries his victorious arms from the east to the west; he subdues distant peoples and makes the neighbouring nations fear him; but the people of this kingdom alone have not submitted. Although he is often at the head of all the troops of the five Indies, though he has summoned the bravest generals of all the kingdoms, and though he has marched himself to punish them, he has not yet been able to vanquish their opposition. From this we may judge of their warlike habits and manners."² The Chinese traveller visited Mahārāshtra about the year A.D. 639, that is, five years after the inscription referred to above was incised. The kingdom, according to him, was six thousand *li* (1200 miles) in circuit and the capital was thirty *li*, and towards the west was situated near a large river. The soil, climate, and the character and general condition of the people of Mahārāshtra are thus described by him: "The soil is rich and fertile and produces abundance of grain. The climate is warm. The manners are simple and honest. The natives are tall and haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insult them they will risk their lives to wipe out that affront. If one apply to them in difficulty they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge they never fail to give warning to their enemy; after which each puts on his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life. The state maintains a body of dauntless champions to the number of several hundreds. Each time they prepare for combat they drink wine to intoxicate them, and then one of these men, spear in hand, will defy ten thousand enemies. If they kill a man met upon the road the law does not punish them. Whenever the army commences a campaign these braves march in the van to the sound of the drum. Besides, they intoxicate many hundreds of naturally fierce elephants. At the time of their coming to

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 290.² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 291.

blows they drink also strong liquor. They run in a body trampling everything under their feet. No enemy can stand before them. The king, proud of possessing these men and elephants, despises and slighta the neighbouring kingdoms."

Pulakeśi II. appears undoubtedly to have been the greatest prince of this dynasty; and his fame reached even foreign countries. He is represented in an Arabic work to have sent an embassy to Chosroes II., king of Persia, who reigned from A.D. 591 to A.D. 628, in the thirty-sixth year of that prince's reign, and must have received one from him, either before or after.¹ During his reign the power of the Chālukyas was established over a very large extent of country. His younger brother Vishnuvardhana, otherwise called Vishamasiddhi, seems to have for some time been appointed to rule over the Sātārā and Paṇḍharpur districts, since a copper-plate inscription of his found at Sātārā records the grant of a village situated on the southern bank of the Bhimā.² Vishnuvardhana afterwards obtained the province of Veṅgi between the lower Kṛishṇā and the Godāvāri, where he founded another flourishing branch of the Chālukya dynasty. Pulakeśi's second brother Jayasimha must have been his brother's viceroy in the district about Nāsik. For, in a copper-plate grant found in the Igatpuri tāluka of the district, Nāgavardhana, the son of Jayasimha, assigns the village of Balegrāma, which has been identified with the modern Belgām Tarhālā about twelve miles to the north-east of Igatpuri, for the worship of the god Kāpālikeśvara.³ The district in which the village was situated is in the grant called Goparāshṭra. Similarly, Pulakeśi's eldest son Chandraḍītya ruled over the province which contained the Sāvāntvāḍi district. In a copper-plate grant, Vijayabhāṭṭārikā, the queen of Chandraḍītya, who is styled Prithivālabha and Mahārāja or great king, assigns to certain Brāhmins a field along with the adjoining *Khajjana* (modern Khājana) or marshy land in the village of Kochareṁ situated on the coast about seven miles to the north of Veṅgurleṁ. In another grant found at Nerur, she assigns a field in the fifth year of *svardīya* or "one's own reign." Now the reign referred to by this expression must be her husband's, so spoken of to distinguish it from that of his brother Vikramaḍītya, the second son of Pulakeśi, who succeeded his father at the chief seat of government. Chandraḍītya was a king, as the titles above given show, and it is proper that his crowned queen should speak of his reign as *svardīya* or her reign. It is not necessary that charities such as those recorded in these grants should, like political offices or rights, be conferred by the reigning prince alone. The religious merit arising from them is sought

Section II

Vishnuvardhana.

Jayasimha.

Chandraḍītya.

¹ Arch. Sur. W. India. No. 9. pp. 90-92.

² Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 11.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 4, first translated by Bala Śāstri and then by me (Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIV.), and last of all by Dr. Fleet (Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 123).

Section X.**Ādityavarman.****Sendraka race.****Vikramāditya I.**

by women as much as by men; and hence a woman like Vijayabhāṭṭārikā might, during the lifetime of her husband, give a field. The fact of her doing so does not necessitate the supposition that she was a ruler or a regent when she made those grants, as has been thought. She was simply the crowned queen of a reigning monarch at that time. Another son of Pulakeśi named Ādityavarman seems to have ruled over the district near the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Tuṅgābhadrā,¹ as a copper-plate grant of his issued in the first year of his reign was found in the Karnul District. An undated grant of Pulakeśi found at Chiplun in Southern Konkan has recently been published. In it he sanctions the grant of the village of Āmravātaka made by his maternal uncle Śrīvallabha Senānandarāja "the ornament" of the Sendraka race.² This appears to be a family of minor chiefs with whom the Chālukyas were connected. A similar grant was made by the next king at the request of the Sendraka chief Devaśakti.³ Inscriptions of Sendrakas are found in Gujārāt also, where probably they went when the power of the Chālukyas was established in that province. The name Sendraka is probably preserved in the modern Marāṭhā name Sinde.

Pulakeśi was succeeded by his second son Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśi's *priyatama* or favourite son; so that it appears that Pulakeśi had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government, and had assigned an outlying province to his eldest son Chandraditya. At the beginning of this reign as of the previous ones there was a disturbance; but it did not come from the princes or chiefs more to the north who seem to have now been permanently humbled, but from the far south. The Pallava king of Kāñchi or Conjeveram and the rulers of the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas, and the Keralas threw off the yoke which Pulakeśi had but loosely placed over them, and rebelled. Vikramāditya, who was a man of abilities and daring adventure, broke the power of the Cholas, Pāṇdyas, and Keralas. He defeated the Pallava king, captured his capital Kāñchi, and compelled him, who had never before humbled himself before anybody, to do him homage. On the back of his horse Chitrakapṭha and sword in hand he is said to have repelled all the enemies that attacked him. In this manner he acquired again the whole of the dominions ruled over by his father, and became the paramount sovereign of the country "between the three seas."⁴

During the reign of Vikramāditya I. a branch of the Chālukya dynasty was founded in southern Gujārāt or the country called Lāṭa in ancient times. Vikramāditya seems to have assigned that province to a younger brother named Jayasinhavarman Dhārāśraya,

A branch of the Chālukya dynasty established in southern Gujārāt.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 244, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 223.

² Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 51.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., p. 228. See also below.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 86, 89, 92; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 205; and Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., pp. 127, 130-131.

who thus was another son of Pulakesi II.¹ Sryāśraya Śilāditya son of Jayasimha made a grant of land while residing at Navasāri in the year 421,² and another in 443 while encamped at Kusumesvara with his victorious army.³ In both of these Sryāśraya is called Yuvarāja or prince-regent and not a king. Another son of Jayasimha named Vinayāditya Yuddhamalla Jayāśraya Maṅgalarāja issued a similar charter in the Śaka year 653.⁴ Pulakesi, who represents himself as the younger brother of Jayāśraya Maṅgalarsarāja and as meditating on his feet, granted a village in the year 490.⁵ Both are styled kings. From all this it appears that Jayasimhavarman though made sovereign of southern Gujārāt did not rule over the province himself but made his son Sryāśraya his regent. He held that position for more than twenty-two years; and does not appear to have become king in his own right, as he is not mentioned in Pulakesi's grant. Pulakesi, however, seems from his date to be his younger brother. Sryāśraya died before his father; Jayāśraya succeeded the latter as king and he was succeeded by Pulakesi. The dates 421, 443, and 490, the era of which is not given, would if referred to the Gupta era be equivalent to 739, 761, and 808 of the Christian era respectively; while Jayāśraya's 653 Śaka is 731 A.D. But Vinayāditya the sovereign of the main branch who is mentioned in the grant of 443 died about 697 A.D.;⁶ and Jayasimha whose Yuvarāja was Sryāśraya will have to be supposed to have lived to 761 A.D. i.e. 81 years after the death of his brother Vikramāditya; while the interval between Pulakesi and his immediate predecessor Jayāśraya will become 77 years, as Śaka 653 of the latter corresponds to 731 A.D. The Gupta era will, therefore, not do; and we must with the late Pundit Bhagvānlāl refer the dates to the Traikūṭaka era of the use of which we have at least two instances. Thus Sryāśraya's dates will be 670 and 692 A.D., of Jayāśraya 731 A.D. and of Pulakesi 739 A.D., and there will be no incongruity. But the original dates themselves 421 and 490 show the distance of time between Sryāśraya and Pulakesi to be 69 years; and if we take the later date of the former it will be reduced to 47 years. Even this is too much and the only way to account for it is by supposing that the two youngest sons of Jayasimha Dharāśraya were born of a young wife married when he was advanced in years. In Pulakesi's grant it is stated that he vanquished an army of Tājikas which had destroyed the Saindhava⁷, Kachchhella⁸, Saurāshtra, Chāvotaka,⁹ Maurya,¹⁰ Gurjara¹¹ and other kings, and on its way to Dakṣiṇāpatha to conquer the southern kings had come to Navasāri to reduce that country first. Thereupon Valla-

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI, p. 2.² Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 226.³ Transactions VII. Or. Congr., p. 230.⁴ King of Sindh.⁵ King of Anahilpattan of the Chāpōtkata race.⁶ King of the Maurya race; probably ruled over some part of the Konkan and the coast of southern Gujārāt.⁷ King of the Gurjara race; ruled over the Broach District.⁸ Ibid. pp. 2 & 3.⁹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., p. 5.¹⁰ See below.¹¹ Very likely king of Kachchha.

Section X.

bhanarendra, who must have been Vijayāditya or Vikramāditya II. the reigning sovereign of the main branch, conferred upon him the titles of "Pillar of Dakṣiṇāpatha" (Dakṣiṇāpathasāhlāra), "Ornament of the family of Chaluka" (Chalukakulālaṅkāra), "Beloved of the earth" (Prithivivallabha), the "Repeller of the unrepellable" (Anivartakani-vartayitri) and "Support of men in the world" (Avanijānāsraya). As "Tajika" is a name applied to Arabs, from which the name "Tajika" of a branch of astrology borrowed in the first instance from the Arabs is derived, the allusion in this grant is to an Arab invasion. And we have a mention of such invasions between the years 711 A.D. and 750 A.D. by Mahammad Kasim and his successors.¹ Navasāri was the capital of the Chālukyas of Lāta or southern Gujaraṭ.

A spurious
Chālukya grant.

A copper-plate grant of the Gujaraṭ Chālukyas found at Kherā and translated by Prof. Dowson contains the names of three princes, viz., Jayasimharāja, Buddhavarmanarāja, and Vijayarāja.² Scholars and antiquarians have understood the first of these to be the same as Jayasinha the founder of the Chālukya dynasty of the Dekkan. But I think the prince meant is Jayasinhavarman, the brother of Vikramāditya I. and founder of the Gujaraṭ branch of the dynasty; for nothing has hitherto been discovered connecting the early Chālukya princes with Gujaraṭ. The grant, however, appears to me to be a forgery.³ The Buddhavarman mentioned in it, if he existed at all, must have been another son of Jayasinhavarman, besides the two spoken of above, and he and his son Vijayarāja must have ruled over another part of Gujaraṭ. If the grant is to be regarded as genuine, the date 394 will have to be referred to the Gupta era.

Vinayāditya.

After Vikramāditya I. his son Vinayāditya came to the throne. One of his grants is dated Śaka 611, which was the tenth year of his reign,⁴ another in 613 Śaka and in the eleventh year, and a third in 616 Śaka and the fourteenth year.⁵ There is also an inscription of his on a stone tablet, the date occurring in which is 608 Śaka and the seventh year of his reign.⁶ From these it appears that Vinayāditya came to the throne in 602 Śaka corresponding to A.D. 680, in which year his father Vikramāditya must have ceased to reign. His latest is A.D. 694, but his reign terminated in A.D. 696 as is seen from his son's grants referred to below. During his father's lifetime, Vinayāditya assisted him in his wars with the southern kings and won his love by destroying the forces of the Pallava king and of the other three, i.e. Chola, Pāṇḍya, and Kerala, and tranquilizing the country. Between the eleventh and fourteenth years of his reign (A.D. 692—A.D. 695) he succeeded in making the Pallavas,

¹ Elphinstone's Hist. of India.

² Jour. B. A. S., Vol. I., p. 268.

³ My reasons are these.—(1) Its style is unlike that of the Chālukya grants. (2) It does not contain the usual invocation to the Boar incarnation. (3) It simply gives the three regulation names, i.e., so many as are prescribed, in the legal treatises. (4) There is a uniform mode of naming the three princes, by adding the suffix *rāja*, a mode not to be met with in the genuine Chālukya grants. (5) None of the three princes has a title or *Biruda* as all Chālukya princes from Pulakesi I. downwards had.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 86.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 90.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.

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Kaṭambhras, Keralas, Haihayas, Vilas, Mālavas, Cholas, Pāṇḍyas, and others as steadfast allies of the Chālukya crown as the Gaṅga family of Chera and the Alupas whose loyalty was for the first time secured by Pulakeśi II.¹ The kings of Kāvera, or Kerala as it is read in some of the grants, of the Pārasikas, who were probably the Syrians settled on the coast of Malabār, and of Siṃhala were made tributaries. He also seems, like his grandfather, to have fought with and defeated some paramount sovereign of Northern India whose name is not given, and to have acquired all the insignia of paramountcy, such as a certain standard called *Paḍdhvaja*, the drum called *Dhakkā*, and others. These events must have taken place after 616 Śaka, since they are not mentioned in his grant of that year, but in those of his successors.² A chief of the name of Malāśaja Poglii of the Sendraka family was a feudatory of his in the south about Mairur.³

Vinayāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayāditya. He appears to have assisted his grandfather in his campaigns against the southern kings and his father in the expedition into the north. At one time he was captured by his enemies, though they had been defeated and were retreating. Notwithstanding he was in their custody he succeeded in averting anarchy and disturbance in his own country, and when he got off, established his power everywhere and bore all the insignia of supreme sovereignty. There is an inscription at Bādāmi in which it is stated that during his reign, idols of Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahēśvara were put up at Vātāpūra in Śaka 621 and the third year of his reign. One of his grants was issued in Śaka 622 on the full-moon day of Āshādha and in the fourth year of his reign, another in Śaka 627 and in the tenth year, and a third in Śaka 651 on the full-moon day of Phālguna and in the thirty-fourth year of his reign.⁴ On a comparison of all these dates it follows that his reign began in 618 Śaka after the full-moon day of Āshāḍha corresponding to A.D. 696. The first two of these grants, and another which bears no date, were found at Nerur in the Śāvantvādī state.⁵ Vijayāditya had a long reign of thirty-six years.

After Vijayāditya, his son Vikramāditya II. ascended the throne. A grant of his, engraved on a stone tablet, is dated in 656 Śaka and in the second year of his reign,⁶ wherefore he must have come to the throne in 655 Śaka or A.D. 733. Soon after his coronation he had to turn his arms against his hereditary enemy the Pallava king. The name of the prince who reigned at the Pallava capital at this time was Nandipotavarman. Vikramāditya marched against him in haste and encountered him in the Tūḍāka country. Nandipotavarman was defeated and had to fly away from the battle-field.

Vijayāditya.

Vikramāditya II.

¹ This fact is not mentioned in the grant of the eleventh year of his reign (Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 89), while it does occur in that of the fourteenth year (p. 92) and in those of his successors.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX, p. 143.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 112.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX, pp. 127 and 131; and Jour. B. B. R. A., Vol. III, p. 203, at seq.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 107.

Section X:

The Chālukya king got a good deal of spoil in the shape of large quantities of rubies, elephants, and instruments of martial music. He then entered the city of Kāñchī, but did not destroy it. In that city he gave a good deal of money to Brāhmanas and to the poor and helpless, and restored to the temples of Rājasimheśvara and other gods the gold which, it appears, had been taken away by some previous king. He then fought with the Cholas, the Pāṇdyas, the Keralas, and the Kaṭabhras, and reduced them.¹ Vikramāditya married two sisters belonging to the family of the Haihayas. The elder of these was called Lokamahādevī and she built a temple of Śiva under the name of Lokeśvara, at Paṭṭadakal in the Kaiāḍgi district. The younger's name was Trailokyamahādevī, and she built another in the vicinity dedicated to the same god under the name of Trailokyavarṇa. The latter was the mother of Kirtivarman the next king.² Vikramāditya reigned for fourteen years.

Kirtivarman II.

His son Kirtivarman II began to reign in 669 Śaka or A.D. 747, since a grant of his, made in the eleventh year of his reign, bears the date 679 Śaka.³ He assisted his father in his wars with the Pallavas. On one occasion he marched against the Pallava king with his father's permission. The ruler of Kāñchī, too weak to face him in the battle-field, took refuge in a fortress. His power was broken by the Chālukya king, who returned to his country with a large spoil. During the reign of this prince the Chālukyas were deprived of their power in Mahārāshṭra, and the sovereignty of the country passed from their hands into those of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes. The main branch of the dynasty became extinct; but it had several minor offshoots, and one of these in the person of Tailapa succeeded in the course of time in regaining supreme power. From this time forward, therefore, we do not meet with any copper-plate grants issued by the Chālukyas; but Rāshtrakūṭa plates belonging to this intervening period are met with from Rādhanpur in Northern Gujarat to Sāmangad near Kolhāpur and Nāgpur in the Central Provinces. The grant of Kirtivarman II., from which the above account of that prince is taken, does not allude to the fact of his disgrace, but he must have lost possession of the greater portion of his kingdom before Śaka 679, the date of the grant. The name of the Rāshtrakūṭa monarch who first humbled the Chālukyas was Dantidurga, and the work begun by him was completed by his successor Krishna. In a copper-plate grant of the former found at Sāmangad he is spoken of as having become paramount sovereign after having vanquished Vallabha.⁴ The date occurring in the grant is 675 Śaka. Before that time, therefore, the Chālukyas must have lost their hold over Mahārāshṭra. In the Yevur tablet and the Miraj plates the Chālukyas are spoken of as having lost sovereign power in the reign of Kirtivarman II. We will therefore here close our account of the early Chālukyas.

**Overthrow of
the Chālukyas.**¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 26.² Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 165. Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 5.³ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, p. 27.⁴ Journ. R. B. R. A. S., Vol. II., p. 375.

During the period occupied by the reigns of these early Chālukya princes, the Jaina religion comes into prominence. Ravikirti, the Jaina who composed the Aihole inscription and represents himself as a poet, was patronized by Pulakesi II. Vijayāditya gave a village for the maintenance of a Jaina temple to Udayadevapaṇḍita or Niravadyapaṇḍita, the house pupil of Śrīpūjyapāda, who belonged to the Devagana sect of the Mūlasaṅgha, i. e. of the Digambara Jainas. Niravadyapaṇḍita is spoken of as a spiritual adviser of Vijayāditya's¹ father, i. e. Vinayāditya. Vikramāditya II. repaired a Jaina temple and gave a grant in connection with it to a learned Jaina of the name of Vijayapaṇḍita, who is represented to have silenced his opponents in argument and is styled the only disputant.² But Jainism in those days, as at present, probably flourished in the Southern Marāṭhā Country only. If the Pūjyapāla who was the preceptor of Niravadyapaṇḍita was the famous grammarian of that name, he must have flourished some time before 618 Śaka, the date of Vinayāditya's death, i. e. about 600 Śaka or 678 A.D. All that is known about Pūjyapāla and his relations to other Digambara writers is not inconsistent with this date. But another date two hundred years earlier has also been assigned to Pūjyapāda.

No inscription has yet come to light showing any close relations between the Buddhists and the Chālukya princes. But that the religion did prevail, and that there were many Buddhist temples and monasteries, is shown by the account given by Hwan Thsang. Still there is little question that it was in a condition of decline. With the decline of Buddhism came the revival of Brāhmaṇism and especially of the sacrificial religion. The prevalence of the religion of Buddha had brought sacrifices into discredit; but we now see them rising into importance. Pulakesi I. is mentioned in all the inscriptions in which his name occurs as having performed a great many sacrifices and even the Aśvamedha. I have elsewhere³ remarked that the names of most of the famous Brāhmaṇical writers on sacrificial rites have the title of *Sedāmin* attached to them; and that it was in use at a certain period, and was given only to those conversant with the sacrificial lore. The period of the early Chālukyas appears to be that period. Amongst the Brāhmaṇ grantees of these princes we have Nandisvāmin, Lohasvāmin, and Bhallasvāmin;⁴ Dāvasvāmin the son of Jannasvāmin and grandson of Revāsvāmi-Bhikṣita;⁵ Devasvāmin, Karkasvāmin, Yajñasvāmin, Nāgammasvāmin, another Devasvāmin, Gargasvāmin, Rudrasvāmin,⁶ Prabhākarasvāmin, Keśavasvāmin,⁷ &c. There are others whose names have not this title attached to them. Among these names there are three borne by the great commentators on sacrificial sūtras and rites, viz. Karkasvāmin, Devasvāmin, and Keśavasvāmin.

Section X.

Jainism under the Chālukyas.

Buddhism.

Revival of Brāhmaṇism.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 112.² Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., p. 107.³ Report on MSS. for 1884, pp. 31, 32.⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 77.⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., 128.⁷ B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVI., pp. 237, 239.⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. IX., p. 121.

Section X.

Though it would be hazardous to assume that these writers were exactly the persons who are mentioned in the grants with those names, still it admits of no reasonable doubt that they are to be referred to the period when the Chālukyas reigned in Mahāāshṭra; and probably flourished in the Dekkan or the Telugu and Kanarese countries. For the revival of Brahmanism was carried on vigorously in the Southern India. The ritual of the sacrifices must during the previous centuries have become confused, and it was the great object of these writers to settle it by the interpretation of the works of the old Ṛishis.

Purāṇic gods.

And the Purāṇic side of Brahmanism also received a great development during this period. Temples in honour of the Purāṇic triad, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, and Mahēśvara with a variety of names were constructed in many places. The worship of Śiva in his terrific form seems also to have prevailed, as the Nāsik grant of Nāgavardhana assigning a certain village to the worship of Kāpālikeśvara, or the god wearing a garland of skulls, would show. Cave architecture came to be used for the purposes of the Purāṇic religion about the time of the early princes of the dynasty, as we see from the cave-temple at Bādāmī dedicated to the worship of Viṣṇu by Mangalīsa. The Chālukyas, like their predecessors in previous times, were tolerant towards all religions.

Cave architecture.

THE DEKKAN

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Section X.

Genealogy of the early Chalukyas

Chandra dynasty	1 JAYASIMHA RAWARA				
	3 ILAKESH I	Satyakaya of Pulah of Vallabha			
	4 KIRITIPURMAN I	Saka 513 or A D 567—591	5 MANGALAKA	Saka 513—532 or A D 561—590	
Chandra dynasty	6 Pritaka I	Satyakaya reign in Saka 537 or A D 580 through Saka 566 or A D 609 by Hwam Ilwang in A D 611			
	7 VIKRAMADITYA I	Aditya to reign in Saka 566 or A D 609			
	8 VIKRAMADITYA II	Saka 609—619 or A D 680—637			
	9 VIJAYADITYA	Saka 618 (3) or A D 696—723			
	10 VIKRAMADITYA II	Saka 620—669 or A D 703—747			
	11 KASTHIVARMAN II	Saka 669 or A D 747—757 supreme sovereignty by Dantidurga before Saka 670 or A D 758			

Vishnuvardhana, founded
the eastern Chalukya
dynasty

Jayasimha,
Nagavar
dhana.

SECTION XI.

THE RĀSHTRAKŪṬAS.

Section XI.

THE Rāshtrakūṭas are represented to have belonged to the race of Yadū.¹ According to the Wardhā plates they were members of the Sātyaki branch of the race; and were the direct descendants of a prince of the name of Ratṭa. He had a son of the name of Rāshtrakūṭa after whom the family was so called. These are clearly imaginary persons; and as remarked before, the Rāshtrakūṭa family was in all likelihood the main branch of the race of Kshatriyas named Ratthas who gave their name to the country of Mahārāshtra, and were found in it even in the times of Aśoka the Maurya. The Rāshtrakūṭas were the real native rulers of the country and were sometimes eclipsed by enterprising princes of foreign origin, such as the Śātavāhanas and the Chālukyas who established themselves in the Dekkan and exercised supreme sovereignty, but were never extirpated. The earliest prince of the dynasty mentioned in the grants hitherto discovered is Govinda I. But in an inscription in the rock-cut temple of the Daśavatāras at Elurā the names of two earlier ones, Dantivarman and Indrarāja, occur.² The latter was Govinda's father and the former his grandfather. Govinda I. was probably the prince of that name who in Ravikīrti's inscription at Aihole is spoken of as having attacked the Chālukya king Pulakeśi II. and to have afterwards become his ally. Govinda was succeeded by his son Karka, during whose reign the Brāhmanas performed many sacrifices and who seems to have patronized the old Vedic religion. After him his son Indrarāja came to the throne. Indrarāja married a girl who belonged to the Chālukya family, though on her mother's side she was connected with the lunar race, probably that of the Rāshtrakūṭas themselves. From this union sprang Dantidurga, who became king after his father. With a handful of soldiers Dantidurga defeated the army of Karnāṭaka, which hitherto had achieved very great glory by vanquishing the forces of the kings of Kāūchi, the Keralas, Cholas, and Pāndyas, and of Śriharsha, the lord paramount of Northern India, and Vajrata³; and thus conquered Vallabha or the last Chālukya king Kirtivarman II. with ease. He thus acquired paramount sovereignty in the south.⁴ He also subdued the kings of Kāūchi, Kalinga, Kosala, Śrī-Saila,⁵ Mālava, Lāṭa, and

¹ Khāreptān plate, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217; Sāngali plates, B. B. R. A., Vol. IV., p. 111.; Navasari plates and Wardhā plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVII., p. 239 et seq.

² Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10, pp. 92—96.

³ The army of Karnāṭaka was thus the army of the Chālukyas.

⁴ Sāmangal grant, p. 375, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. II.

⁵ This must have been the country about Śrī-Saila which contains the celebrated shrine of Mallikārjuna and which is situated on the lower Krishna in the Karnul district, Madras Presidency.

Tanka. At Ujjayini he gave large quantities of gold and jewels in charity.¹ A grant of Dantidurga found at Sāmangaḍ in the Kolhāpur district bears the date 675 of the Śaka era, corresponding to A.D. 753.²

Dantidurga died childless according to a grant found at Karda,³ and his paternal uncle Krishnarāja succeeded to the throne. Another grant found at Baroda⁴ omits the name of Dantidurga, since the object of the writer was simply to give the pedigree of the reigning monarch, with reference to whom Dantidurga was but a collateral, and not to give the names of all the previous kings. In that grant Krishnarāja is spoken of as having "rooted out" a prince belonging to the same family with himself who had taken to evil ways and to have himself assumed the task of governing for the "benefit of his race." The prince dethroned or destroyed by Krishnarāja could not have been Dantidurga, as has been supposed by some writers, since he was a powerful monarch who for the first time acquired supreme sovereignty for his family. In a grant found at Kāvi, and another found in the Navaśāri district, Krishna is represented to have succeeded to the throne after Dantidurga's death.⁵ The prince whom he set aside, therefore, must either have been a son of Dantidurga or some other person with a better claim to the throne than himself. The statement of the Karda plate that Dantidurga died childless may be discredited as being made two hundred years after the occurrence.

Krishnarāja, otherwise called Subhatanga and also Akāḷavarsha, carried on the work of Dantidurga and reduced the Chālukyas to complete subjection. In two of the grants⁶ he is spoken of "as having with the aid of gods in the form of his counsellors or followers churned the ocean of the Chālukya race which had been resorted to by mountains in the shape of kings afraid of their wings or power being destroyed"⁷—an ocean that was inaccessible to others,—and drawn out from it the Lakshmi⁸ of paramount sovereignty. He is said to have defeated Rāhappa who was proud of his own power and prowess, and afterwards assumed the ensigns of supreme sovereignty. Who⁹ this person was we have not the means of determining. In the Wardhā plates he is represented to have constructed many temples of Śiva,

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Krishnarāja.

Temple of Śiva at
Elurā excavated
at the orders of
Krishnarāja.

¹ Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10. *loc. cit.*

² Referred to above.

³ Jour. B. A. S., Vol. III.

⁴ Published in Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., pp. 292—303.

⁵ See stanzas 11 (p. 146, Ind. Ant., Vol. V.) of the first half of which only तस्मिन्दिवं [गते] remains; and lines 15 and 16, Jour. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 267, ll. 14, 16.

⁶ Vani-Dindori, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., and Rādhanpur, Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 65.

⁷ The legend is that in early times mountains had wings, and as they did considerable mischief by their use, Indra set about cutting them. The mountains thereupon took refuge in the sea. The story originated from the double sense which the word *parvata* bears in the Vedas. It denotes "a mountain" and "a cloud" also. Indra was the god who prevented the clouds from flying from place to place, and compelled them to discharge their freight on the earth for the benefit of his human worshippers.

⁸ Vishnu churned the ocean with the aid of the gods and drew out Lakshmi from it, whom he married.

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 182, l. 13.

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which resembled the Kailāsa mountain.¹ In the Baroda grant it is stated that Krishnarāja "caused to be constructed a temple of a wonderful form on the mountain at Elāpura. "When the gods moving in their aerial cars saw it they were struck with wonder and constantly thought much over the matter saying to themselves, 'This temple of Śiva is self-existent; for such beauty is not to be found in a work of art.' Even the architect who constructed it was struck with wonder, saying when his heart misgave him as regards making another similar attempt, 'Wonderful! I do not know how it was that I could construct it.' King Kṛṣṇa with his own hands again decorated Sambhu (Śiva) placed in that temple, by means of gold, rubies, and other precious jewels, though he had already been decorated by the wonderful artificial ornaments of the stream of the Gaṅgā, the moon, and the deadly poison." The ending *pura* in the names of towns, when it undergoes a change at all, is invariably changed to *ur*, as in Sihur for Sindhapura, Indur for Indrapura, S'rar for S'ripura, &c. The Elāpura of the inscription, therefore, is Elur, and the temple described in the grant in such terms must be one of those excavated on the hills at the place, perhaps the temple of Kailāsa itself.² Thus it appears that it was Krishnarāja that caused the Kailāsa to be constructed, and the date assigned to it by Drs. Fergusson and Burgess simply on architectural grounds is verified. Krishnarāja must have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era, i.e., between 753 and 775 A.D.

Govinda II.

Krishnarāja was succeeded by his son Govinda II.³ Nothing particular is recorded of him in the grants, except, of course, the general praise which is accorded to every prince, however weak and inglorious. It however appears from the Vapi-Dindorī and Rādhapur grants that he was superseded by his younger brother

¹ *Loc. cit.*

² Dr. Bühler in his paper in Vol. VI, Ind. Ant., simply states that the "grant (Baroda) connects him (Krishnaraja) with the hill at Elāpur, where he seems to have built a fort and a splendid temple of Śiva." He has not identified Elāpura and did not perceive the important significance of this and the next two stanzas. He, however, suspected that one of the verses was badly deciphered. That this and the following verses are somewhat badly deciphered there is no doubt; but the translation in the Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal is far worse and Dr. Bühler was misled by it. Dr. Fleet has published a revised translation (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 162), but as regards this passage it certainly is no improvement on the first. He also once spoke of "a hill fort" (Ind. Ant., Vol. XI, p. 121), and now thinks Elāpura is in the passage meant to be represented as Krishnaraja's "encampments." He identifies Elāpura with Yellipur in the North Kanara districts. But the manner in which the temple is described according to my translation and also the obvious derivation of Elur from Elāpura, and Elurā from Elāpuraka, leave little doubt that a rock-cut temple at Elur is meant to be spoken of, and actually the existence of a Rāṣṭrakūṭa inscription in one of the temples confirms my conclusion. That my translation is correct and appropriate, I have shown in an article published in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. XII, p. 228, where the reader will find the point fully discussed.

³ The name of this prince is omitted in the Vapi-Dindori and Rādhapur grants, for the same reason apparently as that for which Dantidurga's is omitted in the Baroda grant; but he is alluded to when they state that Dhruva or Nirupama set aside his older brother.

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Dhruva, and the grants endeavour to palliate his crime in having thus usurped the throne. The Wardhâ grant states that he gave himself up to sensual pleasures, and left the cares of the kingdom to his younger brother Nirupama; and thus allowed the sovereignty to drop away from his hands. But subsequently he seems from the Paiṭhan¹ grant to have endeavoured to regain his power with the assistance of the neighbouring princes, when Dhruva vanquished him in a battle and formally assumed the insignia of supreme sovereignty. At the end of a Purāṇa entitled *Harivamśa* of the Digambara Jaines, it is stated that the work was composed by Jināsena in the Śaka year 705 while Vallabha the son of Kṛishṇa was ruling over the south. Govinda II. is in the Kāvi and Paiṭhan grants called Vallabha, while one of the names of Dhruva, the second son of Kṛishṇa I., was Kalivallabha. Govinda II., therefore, must be the prince alluded to, and he appears thus to have been on the throne in the Śaka year 705, or A.D. 783.²

Dhruva was an able and warlike prince. His other names were Nirupama or the "Matchless," Kalivallabha, and Dhārāvārsha. He humbled the Pallava king of Kāñchi and obtained from him a tribute of elephants. He detained in custody the prince of the Gaṅga family, which ruled over the Chera country. He also carried his arms into the north against the king of the Vatsas, whose capital must have been Kausāmbi the modern Kosam near Allahabad, and who had grown laughty by his conquest of a king of the Gauda country. He drove the Vatsa prince into the impassable desert of Mārvād and carried away the two state umbrellas which he had won from the Gauda king.³ The Jaina *Harivamśa* represents a Vatsa prince as ruling over the west in Śaka 705. He must have been the same as that vanquished by Nirupama. According to the Navasārī grant Nirupama took away the umbrella of the king of Kosala also; and in the Wardhâ plates he is represented as having three white umbrellas. A stone inscription at Pattadakal was incised in the reign of Nirupama. There he is styled Dhārāvārsha and Kalivallabha.⁴ The last name occurs also in the Wardhâ grant and the first in that found at Paiṭhan. This prince does not appear to have reigned long, as his brother was on the throne in Śaka 705 and his son in Śaka 716, the year in which the Paiṭhan charter was issued.

Dhruva Nirupama was succeeded by his son Govinda III. The Rājhanpur and Vani-Diḡdori grants were issued by him in the Śaka year 730 corresponding to A.D. 808⁵ while he was at

Govinda III. or
Jagattunga I.

¹ Epigraphia Indica, Vol. IV., p. 107.

शाकेष्वदशतेषु सप्तसु दिशं पञ्चोत्तरेषूत्तरं
पातीन्द्रायुधनाभि कृष्णद्वपजे श्रीवह्ने मे दक्षिणाम् ।
पूर्वी श्रीमदवन्तिभूयति द्यौरे वत्सादि (धि) राजेऽपरां
सौर्या (रा) गामधिमण्डले (ल) जययुते वीरे वराहेऽवति ॥

Rājendralal's Skr. MSS., Vol. VI., p. 80, and MSS. in the Deccan College collections.

² Vani-Diḡdori and Rājhanpur plates.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 126.

⁴ The Samvat-sara or cyclic year given in the first is *Sarvayit*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which was 730, while in the second it is *Vyaya* corresponding to 729 current. As regards the exact signification to be attached to these dates, see Appendix B.

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Mayāṛakhaṇḍī. This place has been identified with a hill-fort in the Nāsik territory of the name of Morkhaṇḍ. Whether Mayāṛakhaṇḍī was the capital of the dynasty in the time of this king cannot be satisfactorily determined. Govinda III. was certainly one of the greatest of the Rāshtrakūṭa princes, and the statement in his grant that during his time the Rāshtrakūṭas became invincible, as the Yādavas of Purāṇic history did when under the guidance of Kṛishṇa, appears credible. Seeing he had grown up to be a brave prince his father proposed to abdicate the throne in his favour; but he declined, expressing himself perfectly satisfied with his position as Yuvarāja or prince-regent.¹ When after his father's death he ascended the throne, twelve kings united their forces and rose against him, desirous of striking an effectual blow at the power of the Rāshtrakūṭas. But alone and unassisted, he by his personal valour suddenly inflicted a crushing defeat on them and broke the confederacy. He released the Ganga prince of Chora, who had been kept in custody by his father; but no sooner did he go back to his native country than he put himself into an attitude of hostility. But Govinda III. immediately vanquished him, and threw him into captivity again. Subsequently he marched against the Gūṛjara king, who fled away at his approach. Thence he proceeded to Mālvā, the king of which country knowing himself to be unable to resist his power surrendered to him. After receiving his obeisance he directed his march to the Vindhya. When Mārāsarva, the ruler of the adjoining country, who had been watching his movements, heard from his spies that Govinda's army had encamped on the slopes of that mountain, he went up to him, and throwing himself at his feet presented to him his most highly valued heirlooms which no other prince had ever got before. On this occasion Govinda spent the rainy season at a place called Śṛībhavana, which has not been identified. When the rains were over, he marched with his army to the Tungabhadra, where he stayed for a short time, and brought the Pallava king of Kāñchi under a more complete subjection than before. Thence he sent a message to the king of Vengi, or the country between the lower Kṛishṇa and the Godāvarī, who probably belonged to the eastern Chālukya dynasty, and he came and attended on him as if he were his servant.² This grand victorious march to the north and the south must have taken place before Śaka 726 or A.D. 801. For in a copper plate grant bearing that date found in the Kānārese country, it is stated that when the king (Govinda III.) "having conquered Dantiga who ruled over Kāñchi, had come to levy tribute, and when his encampments were on the banks of the Tungabhadra," he allotted some lands to one Sivadhāri at a holy place named Rāmeśvara.³ His expeditions against the neighbouring princes must have been undertaken after

¹ The Kāvi grant, however, states that the father did raise him to the supreme sovereignty which his enemies were endeavouring to deprive his family of, i. e., when he found the enemies of his family too powerful for him, he raised his son to the throne and assigned to him the task of suppressing them. Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 27. The reading, however, is somewhat corrupt. The enemies spoken of here must be those twelve whom he is represented to have vanquished in the other grants.

² Vayā Dindori and Rādhāpur plates.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp. 126-7.

Saka 716 *past*, or 794 A.D., since the Paithan charter which was issued in that year makes no mention of them.

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Govinda III. thus acquired a large extent of territory and established his supremacy over a number of kings. He appears to have become the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Málvā in the north to Kāñchpura in the south, and to have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmadā and the Tungabhadrá. The Vapi-Diṇḍori plates convey a village situated in the Nāsik district, while those found in the Kānarese country assign some land near the Tungabhadrá. The province of Lāṭa, situated between the Mahl and the lower Tāpt, was assigned by him to his brother Indra,¹ who became the founder of another branch of the dynasty. Govinda III., as stated in the Baroda grant, made and unmade kings. His secondary names as found in his own grants were Prabhūtavarsha or "Raining profusely," Prithivīvallabha or "the Lover of the Earth," and Śrī-Vallabha. Others will be noticed below. The Baroda grant was issued by Karka, the son of Govinda's brother Indra, the king of Lāṭa, in Saka 734 or A.D. 812, and the Kāvi grant by Govinda the younger brother of Karka, in Saka 749 or A.D. 827. We need not notice these princes further, since they belong more to the history of Gujārāt than of the Dekkan.

In several of the grants belonging to this dynasty, the son and successor of Nirupama is stated to be Jagattuṅga. Now, since Govinda III. was one of the greatest princes of this dynasty, it is impossible that he should have been passed over by the writers of these grants. Jagattuṅga, the son of Nirupama, must, therefore, be Govinda himself and no other. After his death his son Amoghavarsha, whose proper name appears to have been Śarva,² came to the throne. He seems to have marched against the Chālukyas of Veṅgi and put several of the princes to death.³ In the Navasārī grant Amoghavarsha is spoken of simply as Vallabha and is styled *Rājārāja* or king of kings and also *Vira-Nārāyaṇa*. This last title is justified by the poetic writer of the grant by saying that as the God Nārāyaṇa brought out the earth which was immersed in the ocean, so did Vallabha bring the goddess of sovereignty out of the ocean in the shape of the Chālukyas in which it had sunk. He is also represented to have "burnt" the Chālukyas. These also must be allusions to Amoghavarsha's wars with the Chālukyas of Veṅgi; and he probably conquered some territory belonging to them. In the Karkā grant the city of Mānyakheta is spoken of as being in a very flourishing condition in his time. There is little question that it was his capital; but whether it was he who founded it and made it the capital of the dynasty cannot be clearly made out from that grant, as the reading given by Mr Wathen is corrupt. But the Wardhā plates are clear on the point. In them the successor of Jagattuṅga is called Nripattuṅga; and he is represented to have founded the city of Mānyakheta, which "put the

ŚARVA OF
Amoghavarsha I.

¹ Kavi plate, Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 147, v. 39; Baroda grant, Jour. Beng. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 296, v. 21, in which तुदा ought to be तुहत् as in the Kāvi.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 183, l. 25.

³ Sāṅgali plates. But the reading is somewhat corrupt.

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city of the gods" to shame. Mānyakheta has been properly identified with Mālkhed in the Nizam's territory. In the Kānheri caves there are three inscriptions, in which the reigning paramount sovereign is represented to be Amoghavarsha. In one of them Pūllasakti of the Śilāhāra family, and in the other two his son, Kapardin, are mentioned as his dependents ruling over Konkan, which province had been assigned to them by Amoghavarsha. The dates occurring in the last two are Śaka 775 and 799.¹ An inscription at Sirur in the Dhārvād district published by Dr. Fleet is dated Śaka 788, *vyaya*, which is represented as the fifty-second year of the reign of Amoghavarsha;² so that the year 799 Śaka of the Kānheri inscription must have been the sixty-third of his reign. The cyclic year *vyaya* corresponds to the Śaka year 788 *past* and 789 *current*. This prince appears thus to have begun to reign in Śaka 737 *past*. In a historical appendix at the end of a Jaina work entitled Uttarapurāṇa, or the latter half of the Mahāpurāṇa, by Guṇabhadra, Amoghavarsha is represented to have been a devoted worshipper of a holy Jaina saint named Jinasena, who was the preceptor of Guṇabhadra, and wrote the Ādipurāṇa or the first part of the same work.³ Jinasena himself at the end of his poem the Pārśvābhyudaya gives expression to a wish that Amoghavarsha may reign for a long time. An important work on the philosophy of the Digambara Jainas entitled Jayadhavalā is represented at the end to have been composed when 759 years of the Śaka king had elapsed, in the reign of Amoghavarsha. In the introductory portion of a Jaina mathematical work entitled Śārasaṅgraha by Virāchārya, Amoghavarsha is highly praised for his power and his virtues, and is spoken of as a follower of the Jaina doctrine (Śādvāda).⁴ He is mentioned there also by his other name Nripatūṅga. The authorship of a small tract consisting of questions and answers on moral subjects, entitled Praśnottara-ratnamālikā, which has been claimed for Śaṅkarāchārya and one Śaṅkaraguru by the Brāhmins, and for Vinu by the Śvetāmbaras, is attributed

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VI., West's copies Nos. 15 and 42; Vol. XIII., p. 11; and Prof. Kielhorn's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIII., p. 133. The cyclic year given with 775 is *Prayaguti*, the current Śaka year corresponding to which, however, was 774. Prof. Kielhorn has recently calculated the true Śaka from the day of the week and fortnight and found it to be 773 expired, i. e. 774 current.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 216.

³ Several copies of this Purāṇa have been purchased by me for Government. The stanza in which Amoghavarsha is alluded to is this:—

यस्य प्राञ्चनलोशुजालविसरुद्धान्तराविर्भव-
त्पादाम्भोजरजःपिशङ्कुमुकुटप्रत्यमरत्नद्युतिः ।

संस्मृतौ स्वममोषवर्षेष्टपतिः पृथोहमद्येयं
स भीमाग्निनसेनपूज्यममवत्पादो जगन्मङ्गलम् ॥

"The king Amoghavarsha remembered himself to have been purified that day when the lustre of the gem was heightened in consequence of his diadem becoming reddish by the dust-pollen of [Jinasena's] foot-lotuses appearing in the stream [of waterlike lustre] flowing from the collection of the brilliant rays of his nails;—enough—that prosperous Jinasena with the worshipful and revered feet is the blessing of the world."

⁴ This and the two preceding references I owe to the kindness of Mr. K. B. Pathak.

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to king Amoghavarsha by the Digambara Jains. At the end of the Digambara copies occurs a stanza, in which it is stated that Amoghavarsha composed the Ratnamālikā after he had abdicated the throne in consequence of the growth of the ascetic spirit in him. There is another Amoghavarsha in the dynasty who is represented as being of a thoughtful and religious temper. But he reigned for a short time and does not appear to have had any connection with the Jains. There is a translation of the work in the Thibetan language, and there, too, the tract is attributed to Amoghavarsha, who is represented as a great king. The Thibetan translation of the name has been retranslated, however, into Amoghodaya by Schiefner; but if he had known the Digambara tradition, he would have put it as Amoghavarsha.² From all this it appears that of all the Rāshtrakūta princes, Amoghavarsha was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jains; and the statement that he adopted the Jaina faith seems to be true.

Amoghavarsha's son and successor was Akālarsha. He married the daughter of Kokkala, king of Chedi, who belonged to the Haihaya race, and by her had a son named Jagattuṅga. Akālarsha's proper name was Krishna as is evident from the Navasāri grant and also from the Wardhā and the Kurjā plates. He is the Krishna-rāja during whose reign a tributary chief of the name of Prithvirāma made a grant of land to a Jaina temple which he had caused to be constructed in the Śaka year 797 at Saundatti.³ Another Jaina temple was built by a Vaiśya or Bania named Chikārya during his reign in Śaka 824 at Muḡunda in the Dhārvād district, and in the inscription which records this fact he is styled Krishna Vallabha.⁴ Krishna or Akālarsha appears to have been a powerful prince. He is represented as having frightened the Gūjara, humbled the pride of the Lāta, taught humility to the Gaudas, deprived the people on the sea-coast of their repose, and exacted obedience from the Andhra, Kalinga, Gāṅga, and Magadha.⁵

Krishna II. or
Akālarsha.

In the reign of this prince the Jaina Purāṇa noticed above was consecrated in Śaka 820, the cyclic year being Piṅgala,⁶ by Loka-

¹ See my Report on the search for Sanskrit MSS. for 1843-44; Notes, &c., p. II. The stanza is

विवेकात्यन्तराज्येन राज्ञेयं रत्नमालिका ।
रवितामोषवर्षेण सृष्टिं सा सद्दलकृतिः ॥

² Weber's Indische Streifen, Vol. I., p. 210.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 200. The cyclic year mentioned is Manmatha, which corresponds to Śaka 797 *prad.*

⁴ *Ib.*, p. 182. The cyclic year is Dundubhi, which fell in 825 current.

⁵ Wardhā and Navasāri plates. Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII pp. 239-262.

⁶ अकालवर्षभूपाले पालयत्यलिलाम् ।

तस्मिन्निध्वस्तनिःशेषाद्विषि वीजयशोऽपि ॥

धर्मं च. I.

शकटपत्राग्राम्यन्तरविश्वयधिकारशतमितान्ते ।

मङ्गलमहर्षिकारिणि पिङ्गलनामानि समस्तजनसुखदे ॥

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sena the pupil of Guṇabhadra, who was the author of the second part. In the historical appendix, "the lofty elephants of Akālavarsha" are represented "to have drunk the waters of the Ganges rendered fragrant by being mixed with the humour flowing from their temples, and, as if not having their thirst quenched, to have resorted to the Kaṇṇāra forest (in the extreme south), which was full of sandal trees set in gentle motion by the breezes blowing over the sea waves, and into the shade of which the rays of the sun did not penetrate."¹ The date 833 Śaka has also been assigned to Akālavarsha.² It will have been seen that an inscription at Saundatti represents Krishnarāja to have been the reigning prince in Śaka 797, while one in the Kānheri caves speaks of his father Amoghavarsha as being on the throne two years later, i.e., in 799. This discrepancy must be due to the fact mentioned in the Ratnamālīkā that the latter had abdicated the throne in his old age. The real reigning prince therefore in Śaka 797 and 799 must have been Akālavarsha his son, but the writer of the Kānheri inscription must in the latter year have put in Amoghavarsha's name, as he was not dead, and his having abdicated had probably no significance in his eyes.

Jagattuṅga.

Akālavarsha's son was Jagattuṅga. But he did not ascend the throne as appears from the fact that his name is not mentioned in the list of kings given in the Khārepātan grant, after Akālavarsha, but that of Indra, who is spoken of as Akālavarsha's grandson, while Jagattuṅga is mentioned in another connection below. And in the Navasāri grant Indra is represented as "meditating on the feet" of Akālavarsha, and not of Jagattuṅga though he was his father, which shows that he was the immediate successor of Akālavarsha. But the Wardhā grant is explicit. It tells us that Jagattuṅga had a beautiful person, and that he died without having

निष्ठित भव्यवयैः

प्रापेज्यं शास्त्रसारं जगति विजयते पुण्यमेतत्पुण्यम् ॥

"Victorious in the world is this holy Purāṇa, the essence of the Śāstras which was finished and worshipped by the best among respectable [men]" * * * in the year Pingala that brings about great prosperity and confers happiness on all mankind, at the end of the year measured by 820 of the era of the Śaka king * * * , while that king Akālavarsha, all of whose enemies were destroyed and whose fame was pure (or who acquired religious merit and fame) was protecting the whole earth."

The cyclic year Pingala corresponded to 820 Śaka current

यसोत्तुमर्तगजा निजमदस्तोतस्विनोत्संगमा-

दाकं वारि कलङ्कितं कट्टं घृहुः पीत्वाप्यगच्छन्तृषः ।

कीमारं धनचन्दनं वनमपापत्युस्तर्गानिलै-

र्मन्दान्दोलितमस्तभास्करकरचक्रायं समाश्रियिष्य ॥

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 109.

Section XI.

Indra III.

ascended the throne. Jagattuṅga married Lakshmi, the daughter of his maternal uncle, the son of Kokkala, who is called Ranavigraha in the Sāṅgali and Navasāri grants, and Saṅkaragana in the Karda plates. But it will be presently shown that the Karda plates contain many mistakes and are the source of a good deal of confusion in the history of this dynasty. From this union sprang Indra, who succeeded his grandfather. His title was Nityavarsha according to the Navasāri grant; and his son Govinda IV. is in the Sāṅgali grant spoken of as "meditating on the feet" of Nityavarsha, which also shows that that was Indra's title. Nityavarsha is the donor in the Navasāri grant. He is represented as residing at his capital Mānyakheta, but to have on the occasion gone to Kurundaka, identified with the modern Kadoda on the banks of the Tāpi, for his Pattabandhotsava. This must have been the festival in honour of his coronation. At Kurundaka he granted that and many other villages, and restored four hundred more which had once been given in charity but had been resumed by former kings. He also gave away twenty lacs of Drammas in charity after having weighed himself against gold. The village conveyed by the Navasāri grant is Tenna situated in the Lāṭ country. It has been identified with Tenā in the Navasāri division of the Baroda State. The grant was issued in Śaka 836; so that Indra appears to have come to the throne in that year. Another set of copper-plates found in the Navasāri district records the grant of the village of Gumra identified with the modern Bagumra by the same prince. The grant was issued at the same time as the other, and the contents *mutatis-mutandis* are exactly the same.¹ From these grants of villages in the Navasāri district which must have formed a part of the old country of Lāṭa, and from the statement in the Wardlā plates that Kṛishṇa or Akālavarsha humbled the pride of the Lāṭa prince, it appears that the main branch of the Rāshtrakūṭas reigning at Mānyakheta must have in Akālavarsha's time supplanted or reduced to a humble position the dynasty of their kinsmen in Gujarāt, which had been founded in the time of Jagattuṅga or Govinda III. Indra was the reigning monarch in Śaka 838, the cyclic year being *Dhātu*, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet.²

As regards the next king there is some confusion in the Karda plates. The Sāṅgali grant, however, is clear. Indra married a lady from the Haihaya family of Chedi again. Her name was Vijāmbā;³ and she was the daughter of Arigaṇadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the eldest son of Kokkala, mentioned above. By her Indra had a son named Govinda, who is the last king noticed in the Sāṅgali grant, since it was issued by him. But according to the Khāre-pāṭaṇ grant, Govinda was the younger brother of a prince named

¹ Jour. E. B. R. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 261 *et seq.*² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 234.³ Dr. Fleet in his revised transcript and translation of the Sāṅgali grant calls her Vijāmbā, but in the facsimile given by him the name is distinctly Vijāmbā in both the places where it occurs. The Sanskrit of Vijāmbā is Vidyāmbā. Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 239.

Section XI.

Amoghavarsha II.

Govinda IV.

Amoghavarsha.¹ The immediate successor of Indra, therefore, was Amoghavarsha, and after him his younger brother Govinda came to the throne. And this is confirmed by the Kārjā plates also. Amoghavarsha and Govinda are there meant to be mentioned as the two sons of Ambā, who is the same as the Vijāmbā of the Sāṅgall plate. But in the text of the grant Govinda and Ambā form one compound, so that the translators of the grant call the lady Govindāmbā, which certainly is an unique or an absurd name. Thus they drop king Govinda altogether.² But the Wardhā grant is explicit on the point. From it we learn that Amoghavarsha was the elder brother of Govinda, but that he died immediately after his father, as if "out of love for him", and then Govinda came to the throne. The Sāṅgall grant of Govinda IV., as he must be called, does not mention Amoghavarsha by name; but states that "though Govinda had the power, he did not act with any reprehensible cruelty towards his elder brother, and did not render himself infamous by incest, or assume the nature of a devil by casting aside considerations of purity and impurity, but became Sāhasāṅka by his matchless enterprise and liberality." What this statement exactly means it is difficult to say. But probably Govinda was believed to have encompassed his brother's death, and the other accusations referred to were whispered against him; and this is

¹ Dr Fleet in his genealogical table at p. 103, Vol. XI., Ind. Ant., speaks of Govinda's brother as unnamed. But he is named Amoghavarsha in the Kharp (an grant, and also in that of Kārjā, if properly understood.

² The 14th stanza, the latter part of which I have construed as in the text, is
 दैवा मातुलशंकरणात्मनायामभूजमत्तुडात् । श्रीमानमोववर्षो गोविन्दवाविधानायाम् ।

Now the first line of this is, as it stands, out of place and must contain some mistakes. For, (1) it contains, in substance, a repetition of what we have in the first line of stanza 12, and (2) if it is read here as it is, we shall have to make Ambā a wife of Jagattinga along with Lakshmi, who has been represented as his wife in stanza 12, and understand her to be Lakshmi's sister, the father of both being Śaṅkuraṅga. But Ambā or Vijāmbā is in the Sāṅgall grant clearly spoken of as the daughter of Aṅgapadeva, the son of Arjuna, who was the brother of Bṛahmavīra, the father of Lakshmi; that is, Ambā was the daughter of Lakshmi's first cousin. She is also distinctly represented as the wife of Indra and the mother of Govinda IV. Again, if we take the lines as they are, the result will be that the Kārjā grant makes no mention of Indra's wife Vijāmbā and of his sons Amoghavarsha and Govinda IV., the latter of whom reigned, as we shall see, for at least fifteen years. Such an omission is not likely. Then, again, the Sāṅgall grant makes no allusion whatever to Jagattinga's marriage with a lady of the name of Govindāmbā. And the second line श्रीमानमोववर्षो गोविन्दवाविधानायाम् looks as if the intention of the writer of it was to set forth the names of the two sons of Indra, Amoghavarsha and Govinda, and of their mother Ambā or Vijāmbā. And it seems to me that the following stanza, in which the liberality of a monarch has been praised refers to Govinda IV., who, as noticed in the text below, was called Svargavarsha by people, because he "rained down gold." The name of that prince, therefore, must occur in the verse immediately previous. The first line must, it is clear to me, have crept in through mistake. If it were not read here, the second would be applicable to the king mentioned immediately before, i. e., Indra, and the whole would be consistent with the information derived from the Sāṅgall grant. The emendation I make in the second line is to read रदो for रदो and then Ambā would be released from her incongruous association with Govinda, and the whole would be consistent and intelligible. There must be other mistakes also in the Kārjā grant. Very probably a verse or two are omitted here, as also after the next stanza, where Krishnaraja is abruptly introduced and spoken of parenthetically.

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intended as a defence. The Khârepâtan and Wardhâ grants agree in representing Govinda as a prince addicted to sensual pleasures. The former says that he was "the abode of the dramatic sentiment of love and was always surrounded by crowds of beautiful women," and the latter that he was "the source of the sportive pleasures of Love, his mind was enchained by the eyes of women, he displeased all men by his vicious courses, and his health being undermined, he met with an untimely death." The words used have double senses from which it would appear that the affairs of the state also fell into confusion and hastened his destruction. But the Sângali grant which was issued by him has of course nothing but praise for him. Govinda's other names were Prabhâtavarsha and Suvarṇavarsha (raining gold) and probably Sâhâsaṅka also. The grant was issued in Śaka 855, or A.D. 933, in the Vijaya¹ year of the cycle, while he was at his capital Mānyakhota. Govinda IV. was on the throne in Śaka 841, as appears from an inscription published by Dr. Fleet, in which under the name of Prabhâtavarsha he is represented as the reigning sovereign.² The inscription, however, is dated 840 Śaka; but from the cyclic year Pramâthli, which is also given, it must be understood that the year meant is 841 Śaka. It will appear from this that Indra or Nityavarsha, who succeeded his grandfather in Śaka 836, had a very short reign, and his eldest son, Amoghavarsha could have been on the throne only for a few months. Govinda IV. like Amoghavarsha I. was at war with the Châlukyas of Veṅgi.³ Another inscription represents Govinda IV. as the reigning monarch in Śaka 851.⁴

From the Khârepâtan plates it appears that Govinda IV. was succeeded by his paternal uncle Baddiga, the second son of Jagat-tuṅga. He is represented to have been a virtuous prince, serene like a sage. He was succeeded by his son Krishnarâja, and after his death his younger brother Khotika became king. The Kardâ grant is somewhat confusing here, but when properly understood it is perfectly consistent with that of Khârepâtan. It states: "When the elder brother Krishnarâjadeva went to heaven, Khottigadeva, who was begotten by the king Amoghavarsha on Kundakadevi, the daughter of Yuvarâja, became king."⁵ Here the expression "elder brother" must be taken as related to Khottigadeva and not to the preceding king,⁶ whoever he may have been. Khotika therefore was, even

Baddiga or Amogha-
varsha III.

Krishna III. and
Khotika.

¹ The current Śaka year was 856.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 222. Dr. Fleet, however, identifies this Prabhâtavarsha with Jagattuṅga the son of Akâlavarsha or Krishna II. and father of Nityavarsha. But as we have seen Nityavarsha was on the throne in Śaka 836 and 838, wherefore his father could not have been the reigning prince in Śaka 840 or 841. Besides, as I have shown, Jagattuṅga did not ascend the throne at all.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 249, and my note on Professor Peterson's Report on MSS, for 1883-84, p. 48.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 249.

⁵ ऐन्द्रपदमिणीषयेव स्वर्गमधिष्ठे च ज्येष्ठे भ्रातरि श्रीमत्कुण्णराजदेवे

युवराजदेवदुहितरि कन्दकेदेव्याममोषवर्षत्पा-

ज्जातः सौमिदेवो नृपतिरभूद्भवनविख्यातः ॥ १६ ॥

⁶ For, the clause containing that expression is dependent on the principal sentence, which is in the next or 16th stanza and the subject of which is Khottigadeva. See the passage in the last note.

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according to the Kardā grant, the younger brother of Krishnarāja. But he is represented to have been the son of Amoghavarsha, while Krishnarāja is spoken of in the Khārepātan plates as the son of Baddiga. In an inscription at Salotgi, Krishnarāja, the son of Amoghavarsha, is represented to have been reigning at Mānyakheta in 867 Saka,¹ that is, twelve years after the Sāngali grant of Govinda IV. was issued. He must have been the same prince as that mentioned in the grants we have been examining. For the Krishna of these was the second king after Govinda IV. His father Baddiga, who was Govinda's uncle, must have been an old man when he succeeded, and consequently must have reigned for a very short time. Hence his son Krishna came to be king within twelve years after Govinda's grant, and there is no other Krishna mentioned in the grants who is likely to have been on the throne in 867 Saka. If, then, the Krishna of the grants is the same as the Krishna of the Salotgi inscription, here we have evidence that his father's name was Amoghavarsha; so that the Baddiga of the Khārepātan plates was the same as the Amoghavarsha of the Kardā plates. Krishnaraja and Khotika were thus brothers, and it would appear from the wording of the statement in the Kardā plates that they were the sons of the same father but of different mothers.²

And these points have been placed beyond the possibility of doubt by the Wardhā grant. After Govinda's death, we are told, the feudatory chiefs entreated Amoghavarsha the son of Jagattuṅga, who was

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 265, *et seq.* The cyclic year given is Flavaṅga, which followed next after Saka 869 and the current year corresponding to which was 870. According to another system, which however was rarely used in Southern India, it was Flavaṅga in a part of the year 867 Saka *expirata*.

² Dr. Fleet, following Mr. Wathen's translation, makes Krishna, whom he calls Krishna III., the elder brother of Amoghavarsha and thus a son of Jagattuṅga. But in the Khārepātan grant he is distinctly represented as the son of Baddiga who was the son of Jagattuṅga, and in the Wardhā plates as the son of Amoghavarsha, the son of Jagattuṅga, and was thus a grandson of Jagattuṅga. He is also represented as Khotika's elder brother. I have shown in the text that the expression "elder brother," occurring in the Kardā grant, should by the rules of construction be taken as referring to Khotika and in this way that grant becomes perfectly consistent with that of Khārepātan. The Amoghavarsha who was the son of Jagattuṅga is that spoken of in the sixteenth stanza of the Kardā grant, and was different from the one mentioned in the fourteenth, who was the son of Indira and nephew of that Amoghavarsha, as I have shown above. Dr. Fleet brings in another Krishna and makes him the younger brother of Khotika, and identifies him with Nirupama (see the text below) and with the Krishna whose dates range from Saka 867 to 878. What his authority is I do not know. But the Khārepātan grant mentions one Krishna only, the elder brother of Khotika and son of Baddiga. The Kardā also mentions one only, and as to his relation with the other princes, I have shown that that grant agrees with the Khārepātan plates. The Krishna whose dates range from 867 to 878 is to be identified with the elder brother of Khotika and is not to be considered a different prince unalluded to in the grants. Nirupama, the younger brother of Khotika, is not and cannot have been this Krishna, because his elder brother and the elder brother of Khotika was called Krishna, and he too could not have been called by the same name. Nirupama does not appear to have been a reigning prince, for in the Kardā plates he is only parenthetically introduced as the father of Rakka, who was a reigning prince; and in the Khārepātan grant he is not mentioned at all by name, but Rakka is said to be the son of the brother of Khotika. Krishna, on the other hand, was on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka according to the stone inscriptions. Again if Khotika was the elder brother of this Nirupama-Krishna it is impossible that he should be reigning in 893 Saka, while Krishna should be on the throne from 867 to 878 Saka, that is, before his elder brother. Krishna, therefore, was the elder of the two as stated in the Khārepātan grant, and Khotika the younger. Dr.

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"first among the wise" and the "best of serene sages", to assume the reins of power. He was assisted in the government by his son Kṛishṇa, who though but a crown-prince wielded very great power. The enemies who transgressed his commands were punished; he put to death Dantiga and Bappuka who had grown insolent. He thoroughly subdued the Gāṅga prince; and planted what appears to be a colony of the Āryas in his dominions. Hearing of the ease with which he captured the strongholds in the south, the Gūjara prince, who was preparing to take the fortresses of Kālanjara and Chitrakūṭa in the north, had to give up the enterprise. All feudatory chiefs between the eastern and the western oceans and between the Himālaya and Sindhala (Ceylon) paid obeisance to him. After he had thus rendered the power of his family firm, his father died, and he ascended the throne. The Wardhā plates announce the grant of a village to the north-west of Nāgpur near the modern Mohagaon made by Kṛishṇarāja, who is also called Akūlavarsha, in the name of his brother Jagattuṅga to a Brāhman of the Kāṇva school of the White Yajurveda on the 5th of the dark half of Vaisākha in Śaka 862, corresponding to 940 A.D., the cyclic year being Śārvari. This prince is called Sri-Vallabha also in the grant.

Kṛishṇarāja was the reigning monarch in Śaka 873 and 878.¹ At the end of a Jaina work called Yasastilaka by Somadeva it is stated that it was finished on the 13th of Chaitra when 881 years of the era of the Śaka king had elapsed, the cyclic year being Siddhārthin, during the reign of a feudatory of Kṛishṇarājadeva. Kṛishṇarājadeva is spoken of as reigning gloriously, having subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Sindhala, the Cholas, the Cheras and others.² Khotika, his brother, was on the throne in Śaka 893 *Pragāpati*.³

Khotika was succeeded, according to the Khārepātan grant, by Kakkala, the son of his brother. The name of this brother was Nirupama according to the Kardā grant. Kakkala is said to have been a brave soldier; but he was conquered in battle by Tailapa, who belonged to the Chālukya race, and thus the sovereignty of the Dekkan passed from the hands of the Rāshtrakūṭas once more

Kakkala or
Karka II.

Fleet, however, being under the belief that this last was the elder brother, gives the following explanation of the discrepancy in the dates:—"Kottiga or Khotiga left no issue, and this explains why the date of his inscription now published is considerably later than the dates obtained for Kṛishṇa IV.; viz., there being no probability of Kottiga leaving any issue, first his younger brother Kṛishṇa IV. was joined with him in the government and then the latter's son Karka III."—(Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 255.) This supposition is not supported by any circumstance; on the contrary it is utterly discountenanced by the inscriptions of Kṛishṇa which represent him to be the "Supreme king of great kings," (Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 258.) and to have been reigning at the time at Mānyakheta and governing the kingdom (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210.) Otherwise, they would have spoken of him as *Yuvardja*. Thus there were not two Kṛishṇas but only one. He was the son of Baddiga or Amoghavarsha, not his brother. His earliest date is that of the Wardhā grant, i.e., 862 Śaka and the latest 881 that of the Yasastilaka. He was the same monarch as that spoken of in the Salote and other stone inscriptions bearing the dates 867, 873, and 878 Śaka. Khotiga was his younger brother, and Nirupama the youngest.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 257, and Vol. XI., p. 109.

² Prof. Peterson's Report, *loc. cit.*

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 265.

Section XI.Overthrow of the
Rāshtrakūṭas.Religion under the
Rāshtrakūṭas.

into those of the Chālukyas. The Kardā grant, which was made in the reign of Kakkala, is dated Ś'aka 894 or A.D. 972. And another inscription represents him as being on the throne in 896 current,¹ the cyclic year being *Ś'rimukha*. But in this year or Ś'aka 895 past Tailapa attained sovereign powers.² The Rāshtrakūṭas were thus supreme masters of this country from about A.D. 748 to A.D. 973, that is, for nearly two hundred and twenty-five years.

That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Elurā still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Purāṇic gods rose into much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rock for the use of the followers of Gotama Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to the worship of Ś'iva and Viṣṇu. Several of the grants of these Rāshtrakūṭa princes praise their bounty and mention their having constructed temples. Still, as the Kānheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. show, Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into unimportance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chālukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was, as we have seen, a great patron of it, and was perhaps a convert to it; and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sect. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period.

It is remarkable that, unlike the grants of the early Chālukya princes, those of the Rāshtrakūṭas contain accounts in verse of the ancestors of the grantor, and most of the verses are of the nature of those we find in the ordinary artificial poems in Sanskrit literature, possessing the same merits and faults. The Rāshtrakūṭas, therefore, must have been patrons of learning, and probably had poets in their service. One of the three Krishṇas belonging to the dynasty is the hero of an artificial poem by Halāyudha entitled the *Kavirahasya*, the purpose of which is to explain the distinction as regards sense and conjugational peculiarities between roots having the same external form. He is spoken of as the paramount sovereign of Dakṣiṇāpatha.³ Prof. Westergaard, however, thought

Krishna of the
Rāshtrakūṭa race,
the hero of the
Kavirahasya.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII, p. 270.

² The cyclic year mentioned along with the first of these two dates is Aṅgiras the current Ś'aka year corresponding to which was 895.

³ अस्त्यमस्त्युनिज्योत्स्नापविने दक्षिणापथे ।

कृष्णराज इति ख्यातो राजा साम्राज्यदीक्षितः ॥

"In Dakṣiṇāpatha, which is rendered holy by the light of the sage Agastya, there was a king of the name of Kṛishṇarāja who was crowned as a paramount sovereign."

him to be the Krishnarāya of the Vijayanagar dynasty who reigned in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. But in the *Kavirahasya* he is spoken of in one place as "having sprung from the Rāshtrakūṭa race,"¹ and is in another called "the ornament of the lunar race,"² which description is of course not applicable to the Vijayanagar prince.

Arabic travellers of the tenth century mention a powerful dynasty of the name of Balharās who ruled at a place called Mānkir. The name of the city would show that the Rāshtrakūṭas, whose capital was Mānyakheta or Mānkhed, were meant. But Balharā, the name of the dynasty, has not been identified with any that might be considered to be applicable to the Rāshtrakūṭas. But to me the identification does not appear difficult. The Rāshtrakūṭas appear clearly to have assumed the title of *Vallabha* which was used by their predecessors the Chālukyas. We have seen that Govinda II. is called Vallabha in two grants, Amoghavarsha I. in a third, and Krishna III. in a fourth. In an inscription on a stone tablet at Lakshmeśvar, Govinda III. is called *S'ri-Vallabha*,³ while in the Rādhanpur plates he is spoken of as *Vallabha-narendra*. In the Sāngali and Kardā grants also the reigning king is styled Vallabha-narendra, while in other inscriptions we find the title *Prithivīvalabha* alone used. Now Vallabha-narendra means "the king Vallabha," and is the same as *Vallabharāja*, the words *rāja* (*n*) and *narendra* both denoting "a king." Vallabha-rāja should by the rules of Prakṛit or vernacular pronunciation, become *Vallaha-rāy*, *Ballaha-rōy*, or *Balha-rāy*. This last is the same as the Balharā of the Arabs.

Section XI.

Balharās
identified
with the
Rāshtrakūṭas.

१ तोलयत्यतुलं शक्तता यो भारं भुवनेश्वर ।
कर्तुं तुल्यति स्थाम्ना राष्ट्रकुलोद्भवम् ॥

"Who will equal in strength that lord of the world sprung from the Rāshtrakūṭa race, who by his power bears an incomparable burden."

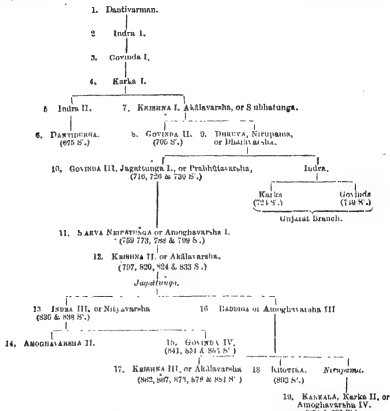
२ सोमं हृतोति यज्ञेषु सोमवंशविभूषणः

"That ornament of the lunar race extracts the juice of Soma in sacrifices."

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., p. 156.

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The genealogy of the Rāshtrakūtas is shown in the following table:—



- (a) The names of those who were supreme sovereigns in the Dekkan are printed in capitals.
 (b) The names of those who were kings before the attainment of supreme power are printed in small letters.
 (c) The order of succession is represented by the numbers.
 (d) The names of those who did not ascend the throne at all, have been printed in italics.

SECTION XII.

THE LATER CHĀLUKYAS.

WE left the history of the kings of the Chālukya race at Kirtivarman II. Between him and Tailapā, who wrested the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan from Kakkala, the last of the Rāshtrakūṭa kings, the Miraj copperplate grant and the Yevur tablet place six kings. Kirtivarman ascended the throne in S'aka 669 and was reigning in 679, before which time he had been reduced to the condition of a minor chief; and Tailapa regained sovereign power in 895 S'aka.¹ We have thus seven princes only between 669 and 895, i. e., for 226 years. This gives an average reign of 32 years to each, which is far too much. This was the darkest period in the history of the Chālukya dynasty, and probably no correct account of the succession was kept. Where the dynasty reigned and what the extent of its power was, cannot be satisfactorily determined in the absence of the usual contemporary evidence, viz., inscriptions. There must have been several branches of the Chālukya family, and it is even a question whether Tailapa sprang from the main branch. I am inclined to believe that he belonged to quite a collateral and unimportant branch, and that the main branch became extinct. For, the princes of the earlier dynasty always traced their descent to Hārīti and spoke of themselves as belonging to the Mānavya race; while these later Chālukyas traced their pedigree to Satyāśraya only, and those two names do not occur in their inscriptions except in the Miraj grant and its copies, where an effort is made to begin at the beginning. But evidently the writer of that grant had not sufficient materials at his command, since, as above stated, he places six princes only between Kirtivarman II. and Tailapa. There is little question that there was no continuity of tradition. The titles Jagadekamalla, Tribhuvanamalla, &c., which the later Chālukyas assumed mark them off distinctively from princes of the earlier dynasty, who had none like them. In a copper-plate grant dated S'aka 735 found in Maisur a Chālukya prince of the name of Vimalāditya, the son of Yaśovarman and grandson of Balavarman, is mentioned. To ward off the evil influence of Saturn from Vimalāditya, a village was granted to a Jaina sage on behalf of a Jaina temple by Govinda III., the Rāshtrakūṭa king, at the request of Chākirāja of the Gaṅga family, the maternal uncle of Vimalāditya.² These three Chālukya names do not occur in the usual genealogy of the family. This therefore appears to have been an independent branch. Another independent offshoot ruled over a province called Jola, a portion of which at least is included in the modern district of Dhārvaḍ. In the Kanarese Bhārata

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The later Chālukya dynasty, not a continuation of the earlier.

¹ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 11.

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written in 863 S'aka by a Jaina poet of the name of Pampa, Arike-sarin belonging to this branch, is mentioned by the poet as his patron. The genealogy there given is as follows :—

Yuddhamalla
 ↓
 Arike-sarin
 ↓
 Narasimha
 ↓
 Dugdhamalla
 ↓
 Badiga
 ↓
 Yuddhamalla,
 ↓
 Narasimha
 ↓
 Arike-sarin

A Chālukya prince mentioned in a Vedāntic work.

At the end of a work entitled *Saṁkṣhepaśārīraka*, the author Sarvajñātman, the pupil of Sureśvara, who himself was a pupil of the great Saṁkarācārya, states that he composed it while "the prosperous king of the Kshatriya race, the Āditya (son) of the race of Manu whose orders were never disobeyed, was ruling over the earth."¹ This description would apply with propriety to such a king as Ādityavarman, Vikramāditya I., Vinayāditya, Vijayāditya, or Vikramāditya II. of the early Chālukya dynasty, since they were very powerful princes and were "Ādityas of the race of Manu." For the Mānavya race to which they belonged may be understood as "the race of Manu." But Saṁkarācārya is said to have lived between Saka 710 and 742, wherefore his grand-pupil must have flourished about the year 800 of that era, while Vikramāditya II., the latest of the four, ceased to reign in 669 Saka. Supposing then that the date assigned to Saṁkarācārya is correct, the king meant by Sarvajñātman must be one of those placed by the Mirāj grant between Kirtivarman II. and Tailapa. He may be Vikramāditya, the third prince after Kirtivarman II.,² but if the description is considered hardly applicable to a minor chief, Saṁkarācārya's date must be pushed backwards so as to place the pupil of his pupil in the reign of one of the five princes of the early Chālukya dynasty mentioned above.

Tailapa's expeditions.

Tailapa seems to have carried his arms into the country of the Cholas³ and humbled the king of Chedi.⁴ He despatched an expedition into Gujarāt, under a general of the name of Bārāpa, against Mālarāja, the founder of the Chaulukya dynasty of Anahlapattana,

अद्वैतेश्वरपादपङ्कज-रज-संपर्कप्रतापः ।
 क

सर्वज्ञात्मगिरिकितो मुनिवरः संक्षिपशापीरकम् ।
 क

चक्रे सज्जनवृद्धिर्वर्धनमिदं राजन्यवंशे ह्ये
 श्रीमत्पुस्तकशासने मनुकुलादित्ये भुवं शासति ॥

The Devavara spoken of in the first line is Sureśvara, the pupil of Saṁkarācārya.

¹ See the genealogy at the end of this Section.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 15.

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who for some time was hard pressed; but according to the Gujarāt chroniclers the general was eventually defeated with slaughter.¹ Someśvara, the author of the Kirtikaumudī, speaks of Bārapa as the general of the lord of Lāṭa, from which it would appear that Tailapa was in possession of that country.² Tailapa invaded MĀLVĀ also, which at this time was governed by Muñja, the uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Muñja, instead of strictly confining himself to the defensive, took the offensive, and, against the counsels of his aged minister Rudrāditya, crossed the Godāvari with a large army. He was encountered by Tailapa, who inflicted a crushing defeat on him and took him prisoner. At first Muñja was treated with consideration by his captor, but an attempt to effect his escape having been detected, he was subjected to indignities, made to beg from door to door, and finally beheaded.³ This event is alluded to in one of Tailapa's inscriptions.⁴ Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years.⁵ One of his feudatory chiefs granted a piece of land to a Jaina temple that he had constructed at Saundattī⁶ in the Belgaum district, in the year 902 S'aka or A.D. 980.

Tailapa married Jākabbā, the daughter of the last Rāshtrakūṭa king, and had by her two sons, whose names were Satyāśraya and Daśavarman.⁷ The former succeeded him in 919 S'aka or A.D. 997. Nothing particular is mentioned of him in any of the inscriptions. The Khārepātan grant, which we have so often referred to, was issued in his reign in S'aka 930 by a dependent chief of the Śilāhāra family which ruled over southern Konkan.⁸

Satyāśraya.

Satyāśraya died without issue and was succeeded by Vikramāditya I.⁹ the son of his younger brother Daśavarman by his wife Bhagavatī. The earliest of his inscriptions is dated S'aka 930, which is also the latest date of his predecessor. He therefore succeeded to the throne in that year, *i. e.*, in 1008 A.D., and appears to have reigned for only a short time.¹⁰ He was succeeded by his brother Jayasīnha or Jagadekamalla, who in an inscription dated 941 S'aka, *i. e.*, 1019 A.D., is represented to have put to flight or broken the confederacy of Mālava and is styled "the moon of the lotus which was King Bhoja," that is, one who humbled him.¹¹ He is also spoken of as having beaten the Cholas and the Cheras. The Miraj grant was executed by him five years later, *i. e.*, in S'aka 946, when "after having subdued the powerful Chola, the lord of the Drāmila country, and taken away everything belonging to the ruler of the seven Kōhkans, he had encamped with his victorious army at

Vikramāditya I.

Jayasīnha.

¹ Rāsa Mālā, Chap. IV. p. 38, new Ed.² Kirtikaumudī, II. 3.³ Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha and Bhojacharitra by Rājavalabha.⁴ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 12, and Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 168.⁵ Jour. R. S. Vol. IV., p. 4.⁶ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. X., p. 210.⁷ Miraj plates; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. III., p. 262, st. 30-35; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII, pp. 15-17.⁸ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 209.⁹ I call him Vikramāditya I. and not Vikramāditya V., as others do, because I would keep the two dynasties distinct for the reasons given in the text above.¹⁰ I shall call Vikramāditya Tribhuvanmalla, Vikramāditya II, and so on.¹¹ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.¹² Ind. Ant., Vol. V., p. 17.

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Somesvara or
Ahavamalla.

Kolhapur in the course of a march to the northern countries to vanquish them."¹ The latest date of this prince is S'aka 962.²

Jayasinha ceased to reign in 962 S'aka, or 1040 A.D., and was succeeded by his son Somesvara I., who assumed the titles of Ahavamalla and Trailokyamalla. As usual with the Ch'älukya princes, the first enemy he had to turn his arms against was the king of the Cholas.³ He is then represented by Bilhana to have marched against Dhārā, the capital of Bhoja, and captured it. Bhoja was compelled to abandon the city. These hostilities with the king of Mälvä seem to have been inherited by this king and his predecessor from Tailapa, who had caused Muñja to be put to death. Bhoja was but a boy when this event took place. It is narrated in the Bhojacharitra that after he had come of age and begun to administer the affairs of his kingdom, on one occasion a dramatic play representing the fate of Muñja was acted before him, and thereupon he resolved to avenge his uncle's death. He invaded the Dekkan with a large army, captured Tailapa, subjected him to the same indignities to which Muñja had been subjected by him, and finally executed him.⁴ Bhoja, who ruled over Mälvä for about fifty-three years, was but a minor when Muñja died. Muñja was on the throne in 994 A.D.,⁵ while Tailapa died or ceased to reign in 997 A.D. He must therefore have been slain by the latter between 994 and 997 A.D., and Tailapa did not survive Muñja for a sufficiently long time to allow of Bhoja's attaining majority and fighting with him. Hence Bhoja could not have wreaked vengeance on Tailapa. But the wars of Jayasinha and Somesvara I with him show that the tradition recorded in the Bhojacharitra must have been correct to this extent, that to avenge his uncle's death the king of Mälvä formed a confederacy with some neighbouring princes and attacked the dominions of the Ch'älukyas. Perhaps he captured Vikramāditya I., of whom we know so little, and put him to death. It was probably on that account that Jayasinha took arms against him and broke the confederacy, as represented in the inscription dated 941 Saka.

Attack against
Dihala and the
southern countries.

After some time Somesvara attacked Chedi or Dāhala, the capital of which was Tesur or Tripura, and deposed or slew Karna.⁶ King Bhoja must have died before this event; for, just about the time of his death, Karna had formed a confederacy with Bhīmadēva I. of Gujarāt with a view to attack Mälvä from two sides, and sacked Dhārā after his death.⁷ Bilhana next represents the Ch'älukya prince to have marched against the countries on the sea-coast,

¹ Loc. cit. Dranīla is another form of Dravīda. There is some mistake here in the original. The letters are *चंद्रमिलक्षिपति*. Dr. Fleet takes *चंद्र* as one word and *चंद्रमिलक्षिपति* as another, but *चंद्र* cannot be construed and Chandranila is unknown. The first word must be *चंद्र*, a mistake for some such word as *चंद्र*, "down," "be low," and the second *Drasimādhapatim*. ² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIX., p. 164.

³ Bilhana's Vikramāditya Charitra, I., 90; Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15.

⁴ Bhojacharitra, I., 60-66.

⁵ My Report on the search for MSS. during 1882-83, p. 45.

⁶ Bilhana's Vikr., I., 102-103.

⁷ Merutunga's Bhojaprabandha; Rāsa Mālā, VI., p. 69, new Ed.

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probably the western. These he conquered, and having erected a triumphal column there, proceeded by the sea-shore to the extremity of the peninsula. In his progress through that part of the country the king of the Dravīḍas or Cholas attacked him, but was defeated. Someśvara thereupon proceeded to his capital Kāñchi, which he captured, and the Chola king had to flee away to save his life.¹ Āhavamalla's operations against Bhoja and the Cholas are alluded to in an inscription, and he is also represented to have fought with the king of Kānyakubja or Kanoj and compelled him to betake himself to the caverns of mountains for safety.²

Āhavamalla or Someśvara founded the city of Kalyāṇa and made it his capital. Bilhana mentions the fact,³ and the name of the city does not occur in any inscription of a date earlier than 975 Śaka, when Someśvara was reigning.⁴ In the course of time three sons were born to Āhavamalla, the eldest of whom was named Someśvara, the second Vikramāditya, and the third Jayasūmha.⁵ The ablest of these was Vikramāditya, and Āhavamalla intended to raise him to the dignity of *Yuvaraja* or prince-regent in supercession of his elder brother; but Bilhana tells us he declined the honour.⁶ Someśvara therefore was installed as prince-regent, but the real work was done by Vikramāditya, who was invariably employed by his father to fight his battles. The first thing he did was to march as usual against the Cholas, whose king was defeated and deprived of his kingdom. The king of Mālvā, who had been driven from his country by somebody whose name is not given, sought Vikramāditya's assistance. That prince put down his enemies and placed him on the throne.⁷ Vikramāditya is said to have invaded the Gauda country or Bengal and Kāmarūpa or Assam.⁸ In the more detailed description of his career of conquest, Bilhana tells us, he first marched against the Keralas, whom he conquered.⁹ The king of Siṃhala submitted to him at his approach;¹⁰ then he took the city of Gaṅgākupḍa and proceeded to the country of the Cholas, the prince of which fled and took refuge in the caverns of mountains. Vikramāditya then entered Kāñchi and plundered it; and thence directed his march to Vengi, and to Chakrakota.¹¹

Sons of
Āhavamalla.

Vikramāditya's
military
operations.

While Vikramāditya was so employed, Āhavamalla was seized with a strong fever. When he observed his end approaching, he caused himself to be taken to the banks of the Tuṅgabhadra. He

Āhavamalla's
death.

¹ Vikr. Ch., I, 107-116.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 19.

³ Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 1. The natural construction appears to be to take कृत्य "most excellent" as an attributive adjective, not predicate, and take वर्य as the predicate. The sense then will be "He made (founded) the most excellent city named Kalyāṇa."

⁴ See Dr. Fleet's remarks on the point, Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 105. The word *Kalyāṇa* occurring in the Salotgi inscription (Ind. Ant., Vol. I., p. 210.) is also, like that in Kirtivarman's grant, to be taken in the sense of "good," "benefit," "beneficial," and not as the name of a town as Mr. Pandit and Dr. Bühler have done.

⁵ Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., II., 57-58 and 85; III., 1, 25.

⁶ *Ib.*, III., 26-32, 35-41, and 48-51.

⁷ *Ib.*, III., 55-67

⁸ *Ib.*, III., 74.

⁹ *Ib.*, IV., 2, 18.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, IV., 20.

¹¹ *Ib.*, IV., 21-30. For the situation of Vengi, see *supra*, p. 53.

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bathed in the waters of the river and gave away a great deal of gold in charity. Then entering the river again, he proceeded until the water reached his neck, and, in the dim caused by the waves and a number of musical instruments, drowned himself.¹ This event must have taken place in Saka 991, corresponding to 1069 A.D.² Ahavamalla, according to Bilhana, performed a great many sacrifices and was very liberal to men of learning.³ On account of his virtues, poets made him the hero of the tales, poems, and dramas composed by them.⁴

Someśvara
proclaimed
king.

Someśvara, the eldest son of Ahavamalla, having been prince-regent, ascended the throne as a matter of course, and assumed the title of Bhuvanakaamalla. Vikramāditya received intelligence of his father's death while returning from Veṅgi. He hastened to the capital and was received with affection by his brother. Vikramāditya made over to him all the spoils he had won in the course of his conquests, and for some time there was a good understanding between the brothers. But Someśvara was a weak and tyrannical prince. He oppressed his subjects and lost their affection. He would not be guided by the counsels of wiser and better men; and the kingdom of Kuntala lost a good deal of its importance and influence. Vikramāditya, unable to control his brother and suspecting his intentions towards himself, left the capital with his younger brother Jayasinha and a large army.⁵ Someśvara II sent his forces after him, but they were defeated by Vikramāditya with great slaughter.⁶ The prince then proceeded to the banks of the Tungabhadra, and, after some time, directed his march towards the country of the Cholas. On the way he stopped at Banavasi, where he enjoyed himself for some time, and then started for the country of Mahya. Jayakesi is represented to have submitted to Vikramāditya and "given him more wealth than he desired, and thus to have rendered lasting the smile on the face of the Konkani ladies."⁷ Jayakesi appears thus to have been king of the Konkani, and was the same as the first king of that name, who in the copper-plate grants of the Goa Kadambas, published by Dr. Fleet, is spoken of as having entered into an alliance with the Chālukya and Chola kings and made Gopakpattana or Goa his capital. Vikramāditya or Tribhuvanamalla in after-life gave his daughter Mallalamahadevi in marriage to his grandson, who also was called Jayakesi; and this circumstance is mentioned in all the three grants, since the connection with the paramount sovereign of the Dekkan raised the dignity of the family.⁸ The king of the Alupas⁹ also rendered his obedience to the Chālukya prince, who showed him marks of favour. He then subjugated the Keralas or people of Malabār, and turned towards the country of the Dravidas or Cholas. Being informed of this, the Chola prince sent a herald with proposals of peace, offering

Quarrels between
the brothers

Submission of
Jayakesi of Goa to
Vikramāditya.

Alliance with the
Chola prince.

¹ Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., IV., 16-68. This mode of death is known by the name of *Jahannamdhā*. ² Joui R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4.

³ Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., I., 97-99; IV., 52. ⁴ *Ib.*, I., 88.

⁵ *Ib.*, IV., 88-119. V., 1.

⁶ *Ib.*, V., 5-8.

⁷ Joui R. B. K. A. S., Vol. IX., pp. 242, 268, 279.

⁸ *Ib.*, V., 10, 18-25. ⁹ See *supra*, p. 61, note 3.

his daughter in marriage to Vikramāditya. These were accepted by the latter, and at the solicitations of the Chola he fell back on the Tūṅgabhadrā, where the prince arrived with his daughter and concluded an alliance.¹

Some time after, the king of the Cholas died and there was a revolution in the kingdom. When the Chālukya prince heard of this he immediately proceeded to Kāñchi, and placing the son of his father-in-law on the throne, remained there for a month to suppress his enemies and render his position secure. A short time after his return to the Tūṅgabhadrā, however, Rājiga, the king of Vōṅgi, observing that the nobility of the Chola prince were disaffected, seized the opportunity, and, having deposed him, usurped the sovereignty of the country. To embarrass Vikramāditya and prevent his descent on Kāñchi, Rājiga incited his brother Someśvara II. to attack him from behind. Vikramāditya, however, marched on, and, by the time he came in sight of the Draviḍa forces, Someśvara overtook him in his rear. He had a very large army, which was well equipped.² Bilhana, who is, of course, anxious to show his patron to be guiltless in this fratricidal war, represents him to be deeply afflicted when he saw that his brother had made common cause with his enemy, and to have endeavoured to dissuade him from the course on which he had embarked. Someśvara made a show of yielding to his brother's expostulations, seeking however in the meanwhile for a favourable opportunity to strike a decisive blow.³ But Vikramāditya finally resolved to give a fight to the armies of both. Then a bloody battle ensued, Vikramāditya proved victorious, the now king of the Draviḍas fled, and Someśvara was taken prisoner. The Chālukya prince then returned to the Tūṅgabhadrā, and after some hesitation dethroned Someśvara and had himself crowned king. To his younger brother Jayasinha he assigned the province of Banavāsi.⁴ These events took place in the cyclic year Nāla, Śaka 998, or A.D. 1076.⁵

Vikramāditya II. then entered Kalyāna and had a long and upon the whole a peaceful reign of fifty years.⁶ He assumed the title of Tribhuvanamalla, and is known by the names of Kalivikrama and Parmādirāya also. He abolished the Śaka era and established his own; but it fell into disuse not long after his death. Some time after his accession, he went to Karahātaka or Karhād and married the daughter of the Śilāhara king who reigned at the place. Her

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Revolution in the Chola kingdom.

Alliance between Rājiga and Someśvara II. against Vikramāditya.

Battle of Vikramāditya with his brother and Rājiga.
Coronation of Vikramāditya.

Reign of Vikramāditya II.

¹ Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., V. 26-29, 46, 56, 60, 73, 79-89.

² *Ib.*, VI., 7-54.

³ *Ib.*, VI., 56-61.

⁴ *Ib.*, VI., 90-93, 98-99.

⁵ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 4; Ind. Ant., Vol. VIII., p. 159. The current Śaka year was 999. Dr. Fleet thinks that the festival of his *Paṭṭabandha* or coronation, grants on account of which are recorded as made on the 5th day of the bright half of Phālguna in the Nala year, in an inscription at Vadageri, was the annual festival. But this is a mere assumption. One would expect in such a case the word *udrahitotsava*. The *utsava* or festival spoken of must be that which followed the ceremony. The date in this inscription refers to the grant, and does not, in my opinion, show at all the day on which the coronation ceremony took place. All we can gather from this inscription and that at Arasikavara is that the Nala Samvatsara was the first year of his reign.

⁶ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 14.

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Rebellion of Jayasimha, Vikrama's brother.

name was Chandralekhā and she was a woman of rare beauty. Bilhana represents her to have held a *svayamvara* where a great many kings assembled, out of whom she chose the Chālukya prince and placed the nuptial wreath round his neck. Whether the *svayamvara* was real, or imagined by the poet to give himself an opportunity for the display of his poetic and descriptive powers, it is not possible to decide. Chandralekhā is spoken of in the inscriptions as Chandaledevī, and many other wives of Tribhuvanamalla are mentioned besides her. The revenues of certain villages were assigned to them for their private expenses.¹

Some years after, Vikrama's brother Jayasimha, who had been appointed his viceroy at Banavāsī, began to meditate treason against him. He extorted a great deal of money from his subjects, entered into an alliance with the Dravida king and other chiefs, and even endeavoured to foment sedition and treachery among Vikramāditya's troops. When the king heard of this, he made several attempts to dissuade his brother from his evil course, but they were of no avail; and in a short time Jayasimha came with his numerous allies and his large army and encamped on the banks of the Kṛishnā. He plundered and burned the surrounding villages and took many prisoners, and considered success so certain that he sent insulting messages to Vikrama.² The king then marched against him at the head of his forces. As he approached the river he was harassed by the enemy's skirmishers, but driving them away he encamped on the banks.³ He surveyed his brother's army and found it to be very large and strong. Then a battle ensued. At first the elephants of the enemy advanced and spread confusion in the ranks of Vikrama. All his elephants, horses, and men turned backwards; but with remarkable bravery the king rushed forward on the back of his maddened elephant, dealing heavy blows right and left. The elephants of the enemy were driven back and the king killed a great many of his soldiers. The army was defeated and Jayasimha and his followers fled away. Vikrama did not pursue the enemy, but took the elephants, horses, women, and baggage left on the battle-field, and returned to his capital. After a time Jayasimha was caught skulking in a forest and brought to Vikramāditya, who, however, is represented to have pardoned him.⁴

Invasion of Vikrama's dominions by Vishnuvardhana.

In the latter part of Vikrama's reign his dominions were invaded by a prince of the Hoysala branch of the Yādava family reigning at Dvāvasamudra, the modern Halebid in Maisur; and with him were associated the kings of the Pāṇḍya country, Goa, and Konkan. This Hoysala prince must have been Vishnuvardhana, the younger brother of Ballāḥa and the grandson of Vinayāditya, who first brought the dynasty into prominence. For in the inscription of Vīra Ballāḥa, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana, at Gaddaka, Vishnuvardhana is represented to have overrun the whole country between his capital

¹ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV, p. 15, and Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., VIII.—XI.

² Bilhana's Vikr. Ch., XIV., 1-13, 18, 49-56.

³ *Ib.*, XIV., 57, 70, 71.

⁴ *Ib.*, XV., 23, 41-42, 55-71, 56-57.

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and Belvoja and washed his horses with the waters of the Kṛṣṇā-Veṇā. It is also stated that "he was again and again reminded by his servants of the honour done to him by the king Paramardideva (Vikramāditya), who said, 'Know the Hoysala alone among all princes to be unconquerable.'" ¹ Vikramāditya despatched against these enemies a dependent chief of the name of Ācha or Achagi, whose territory lay to the south. Ācha, who was "a very lion in war and shining like the hot-rayed sun, sounding his war-cry, pursued and prevailed against Poysala, took Gove, put to flight Lukehma in war, valorously followed after Pāndya, dispersed at all times the Malapas, and seized upon the Konkan."² Ācha must have fought several other battles for his master; for he is represented to have made "the kings of Kalīṅga, Vaṅga, Maru, Gūjara, Mālava, Chera, and Chola (subject) to his sovereign."³ Vikramāditya himself had to take the field against the Chola prince, who had grown insubordinate. He was defeated and fled, and the king returned to his capital.⁴ Vikramāditya II. constructed a large temple of Viṣṇu and had a tank dug in front of it. In the vicinity he founded a town which was called Vikramapura.⁵ He governed his subjects well and they were happy under his rule. The security they enjoyed was so great that, according to Bilhapa, "they did not care to close the doors of their houses at night, and instead of thieves the rays of the moon entered through the window openings." He was very liberal and bountiful to the poor and "gave the sixteen great gifts at each holy conjuncture."⁶ That he was a patron of learning is shown by the fact of a Kāśmīrian Paṇḍit like Bilhana, who travelled over the whole of India in quest of support, having been raised by him to the dignity of Vidyāpati or chief Paṇḍit. Vijñāneśvara, the author of the Mitāksharā, which is at present acknowledged over a large part of India, and especially in the Marāṭhī country, as the chief authority on matters of civil and religious law, flourished in the reign of Vikramāditya and lived at Kalyāna. At the end of most manuscripts of that work there occur three stanzas, which may be translated as follows ⁷:

Vikramāditya's
patronage of
learning.

Vijñāneśvara.

"On the surface of the earth, there was not, there is not, and there will be not, a town like Kalyāna: never was a monarch like the prosperous Vikramārka seen or heard of: and—what more?—Vijñāneśvara, the Paṇḍit, does not bear comparison with any other"

¹ Ind. Ant.; Vol. II., p. 300. Dr. Fleet's translation of this verse is incorrect. The words are to be thus collocated:—*क्षेपु असाध्यतया होयसलम् अवधारय इति परमर्दिदेव-*

नृपतेः प्रत्युपचारं यः निवृत्तः सुहृः स्मर्यते ।

² Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 244. Poysala and Hoysala are one and the same word.

³ *Ib.*, p. 269.

⁴ Bilhapa's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 43-68.

⁵ *Ib.*, XVII., 15, 22, 29, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15.

⁶ Bilhapa's Vikr. Ch., XVII., 6, 36-37.

⁷ See Dr. Bühler's article on the subject in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 134.

⁸ Dr. Bühler's reading of the last two lines is *विज्ञानेश्वरपाण्डितो न मनते किं चायद-*

स्योपमां कल्पस्यं विधरमस्तु कल्पलतिकाकृत्पंतदेव त्रयम् । The Doctor connects कल्पस्यं with

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(person). May this triad which is like a celestial creeper¹ exist to the end of the Kalpa!

"May the Lord of wisdom² live as long as the sun and moon endure,—he who produces words which distil honey and than which nothing is more wonderful to the learned, gives wealth exceeding their wishes to a multitude of supplicants,³ contemplates the form of the subjugator of Mura, and has conquered the enemies that are born with the body.

"May the lord Vikramāditya protect this whole earth as long as the moon and the stars endure,—he whose feet are refulgent with the lustre of the crest jewels of prostrate kings from the bridge, which is the heap of the glory of the best scion of the Raghu race, to the lord of mountains, and from the Western Ocean, the waves⁴ of which surge heavily with the nimble shoals of fishes, to the Eastern Ocean."

Though Sanskrit authors often indulge in hyperbolic expressions without sufficient basis and as mere conventionalities, still the

किं चान्यत् and translates "nothing else that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison with the learned Vijnānesvara." To mean "nothing else," किं चान्यत् must be किमन्यन्यत्; and in this construction पण्डितो, the nominative, has no verb, अन्यत् being taken as the nominative to the verb भजते. Again, it will not do to say "nothing that exists in this Kalpa bears comparison," &c., for one-half of this Kalpa only has passed away; the other half still remains, and what it will produce but has not yet produced cannot be spoken of as कल्पस्थम् or "existing in the Kalpa." The only proper reading with

a slight alteration is that of the Bombay lithographed edition, which he has given in a footnote and which is किं चान्यद्व्योपमामाकल्प. Instead of वा, there must be वा here. And this is the reading of a manuscript of the Mitāksharā, dated Sadvat 1535 and Saka 1491, purchased by me about ten years ago for the Bombay Government. The reading is to be translated as in the text.

¹ Like the celestial creeper, in so far as the triad satisfies all desires.

² Dr. Buhler reads तत्र विज्ञाननाथ and construes it as a vocative. The vocative does not look natural here. The Bombay lithographed edition and my manuscript have विज्ञाननाथ, the nominative. Instead of तत्र the former has तत्र and the latter तत्र. I have adopted this last. The author has here taken the name Vijnānesvara in its etymological sense and given to विज्ञान or "knowledge" the object तत्त्वं or "truth," the whole meaning "the lord of the knowledge of truth."

³ Dr. Buhler's reading here is दातार्योनामतिशययुजामर्षितार्थितायाः. Here अर्थितायाः cannot make any sense; it ought to be अर्षितायाः, which the lithographed edition and my manuscript have. The latter reads the whole line thus :—दातार्योनामतिशययुजामर्षिता-अर्षिता(ता)याः[.]. There is another ग्रा after this, which is redundant.

⁴ The reading of the epithet of the "Western Ocean" is corrupt in all the three. I would improve that of the lithographed edition, which is चट्टलतिमिकुलोत्पन्नरिङ्गत्.

to चट्टलतिमिकुलोत्पन्नरिङ्गत् and of my manuscript to तुङ्गद्वयत्तरङ्गत्. The root रिङ्ग is used in connection with waves (see B. & R.'s Lexicon sub voce).

language and manner of these stanzas do show a really enthusiastic admiration in the mind of the writer for the city, its ruler, and the great Pandit, who from the fact of the liberality attributed to him appears to have enjoyed the favour of the king and perhaps held a high office. From this and from the description given by Bilhana, as well as from Vikramāditya's inscriptions, of which we have about two hundred, it appears to be an undoubted fact that he was the greatest prince of this later Chālukya dynasty, and that during his reign the country enjoyed happiness and prosperity.

Vikramāditya II. was succeeded in Śaka 1048 and in the cyclo year *Parābhava* (A.D. 1127) by his son Someśvara III., who assumed the title of Bhūloka-malla.¹ He had a short reign of about 11 years. He is represented to have "placed his feet on the heads of the kings of Andhra, Draviḷa, Magadha, Nepāla, and to have been lauded by all learned men."² This last praise does not seem to be undeserved; for we have a work in Sanskrit written by Someśvara entitled *Mānasollāsa* or *Abhilashitārtha-Chintāmaṇi*, in which a great deal of information on a variety of subjects is given. The book is divided into five parts. In the first are given the causes which lead to the acquisition of a kingdom; in the second, those that enable one to retain it after he has acquired it; in the third, the kinds of enjoyment which are open to a king after he has rendered his power firm; in the fourth, the modes of diversion which give mental pleasure; and in the fifth, sports or amusements. Each of these consists of twenty kinds. In the first are included such virtues as shunning lies, refraining from injury to others, continence, generosity, affability, faith in the gods, feeding and supporting the poor and helpless, friends and adherents, &c. Under the second head are described what are called the seven *aṅgas*, i. e., the ideal king, his ministers including the priest and the astrologer, the treasury and the way of replenishing it, the army, &c. The enjoyments are—a beautiful palace, bathing, anointing, rich clothing, ornaments, &c. The diversions are—military practice, horsemanship, training elephants, wrestling, cockfights, bringing up of dogs, poetry, music, dancing, and others. The last class comprises sports in gardens and fields, or on mountains and sandbanks, games, enjoyment of the company of women, &c. In connection with these subjects there are few branches of learning or art in Sanskrit the main principles of which are not stated. We have polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, and dogs, &c. The king does appear to have been a man of learning, and it was on that account that he received the title of *Sarvajñabhūpa*³ or the "all-knowing king." In the *Mānasollāsa*, in connection with the preparation of an almanac, the day used as an epoch from which to calculate the positions of certain heavenly bodies is stated as "Friday, the beginning of the month of Chaitra,

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Someśvara III.
or Bhūloka-malla.

Someśvara's
Abhilashitārtha
Chintāmaṇi.

Date given in the
Abhilashitārtha
Chintāmaṇi.

¹ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 15. The current Śaka year corresponding to *Parābhava* was 1048.

² Jour. B. B. E. A. S., Vol. XI., p. 268.

³ *Ib.*, pp. 259 and 268.

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one thousand and fifty-one years of Śaka having elapsed, the year of the cycle being *Saumya*, while the king Soma, the ornament of the Chālukya [race], who was the very sage Agastya to the ocean of the essences of all the Śāstras,¹ and whose enemies were destroyed, was ruling over the sea-begirt earth.² This work, therefore, was written in the fourth year after his accession.

Jagadekamalla.

Someśvara III. or Bhūlokamalla was succeeded in the cyclic year *Kālayukti*,³ Śaka 1060 or A.D. 1138, by his son Jagadekamalla. Nothing particular is recorded of him. He reigned for 12 years and was succeeded by his brother Tailapa II., Nurmadi Taila or Trailokyamalla, in Śaka 1072, *Pramoda* Sainvatsara.⁴ During these two reigns the power of the Chālukyas rapidly declined, and some of the feudatory chiefs became powerful and arrogant. The opportunity was seized by a dependent chief named Vijjala or Vijjaṇa of the Kalachuri race, who held the office of Dandanāyaka or minister of war under Tailapa. He conceived the design of usurping the throne of his master, and endeavoured to secure the sympathies and co-operation of some of the powerful and semi-independent chiefs. Vijayarāja, the Mahāmandaleśvara of Kolhāpur, was one of those who assisted him, and Prolarāja of the Kikateya dynasty of Tailangana, who is represented to have fought with Tailapa, did so probably to advance the same cause.⁵ He kept his master Tailapa under complete subjection till Śaka 1079 or A.D. 1157, when Tailapa left Kalyāna and fled to Anurigeri in the Dhārvād district, which now became the capital of his kingdom greatly reduced in extent. There is an inscription dated Śaka 1079, in Vijjaṇa's name, the cyclic

Ambitious designs of Vijjala.

¹ That is, he drank the essences of all the Śāstras or sciences as the sage Agastya drank the whole ocean.

एकपञ्चाशदधिके सहस्रे शरदा गते ।
शक्रस्य सोमयुगले सति वाङ्मयमण्डने ॥
समुद्ररसनामुर्वी शासति क्षतविद्रिपि ।
सर्वशास्त्रार्थसर्वग्न्यपार्थोदिकलशोद्धवे ॥
सौम्यसवरसरे वैद्यमास्तादी लुक्तासरे ।
परिशीलितसिद्धान्तलब्ध्या स्पृष्टवृत्तका इमे ॥

² The *Sūddhānta* Sainvatsara is mentioned as the second of his reign, wherefore the preceding *Kālayukti* (Śaka 1060) must have been the first. The current Śaka year was 1061. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 112. There are several inscriptions in which the name of Jagadekamalla occurs, but it is difficult to make out whether they belong to the reign of this king or Jayasinha-Jagadekamalla, since the cyclic year only is given in them. Sometimes the year of the king's reign is also given, but that even does not help in settling the point. For Jayasinha began to reign in Śaka 940, just 120 years or two complete cycles of 60 years each before Jagadekamalla II., and consequently the cyclic years and the years of their reigns are the same.

³ For the *Vra* Sainvatsara was the sixth of his reign and it fell next after Śaka 1077. In *Pramoda*, 1073 was the current Śaka year and 1072 years had expired; Pali, Sans and *Ind. Can. Ins.* No. 181.

⁴ Grant of Bhīja II. of Kolhāpur, Trans. Bomb. Lat. Soc., Vol. III. See Section XVI.

⁵ He is said to have captured Tailapa and let him off through his devotion for him. He probably owed some allegiance to the Chālukya sovereign. Ins. of Rudradeva, Ind. Ant., Vol. XI., pp., 12-13, lines 27-30.

year being *Isvara*; and the next Samvatsara, *Bahudhanya*, is spoken of as the second year of his reign.¹ He does not however seem to have assumed the titles of supreme sovereignty till Saka 1084, when he marched against Tailapa II., who was at Annigeri, and proclaimed himself an independent monarch. Tailapa seems then to have gone further south and established himself at Banavasi.² The latest year of his reign mentioned in the inscriptions is the fifteenth, the Samvatsara or cyclic year being *Parthiva*, which was current next after Saka 1087.³

For some time there was an interruption in the Chälukya power, and the Kalachuris seem to have held possession of the whole territory of that dynasty. But internal dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingayata creed and the assassination of Vijaya considerably weakened the power of the Kalachuris, and about the Saka year 1104 Someśvara, the son of Narmadi Taila, succeeded in wresting a considerable portion of the hereditary dominions of his family, and established himself at Annigeri. He owed his restoration to power to the valour and devoted attachment of a feudatory of his family named Brahma or Bomma, who fought several battles with the enemies of his master and is said to have conquered sixty elephants by means of a single one.⁴ Bomma is represented in an inscription at Annigeri dated Saka 1106 to have destroyed the Kalachuris and restored the Chälukyas to the throne.⁵ But a short time after, the Yādavas of the south rose under Vira Ballāla and of the north under Bhalluna. They both fought with Bomma; but success at first attended the arms of Vira Ballāla, who subdued the Chälukya general and put an end to the power of the dynasty.⁶ We lose trace of Vira Soma or Someśvara IV. after Saka 1111.

The Chälukya family must have thrown out several branches of petty chiefs. One such has been brought to light by a copper-plate grant dated Saka 1182, *Randra* Samvatsara, which was in the possession of the Khot of Teravan, a village in the Rājapur taluka of the Ratnagiri district.⁷ The donor Keśava Mahājani was the minister of a Mahāmāndalesvara or chief of the name of Kāmavadeva, one of whose titles was "the sun that blows open the lotus bud in the shape of the Chälukya race." He is also called *Kalyāṇapuravarādhisvara* or "lord of Kalyāṇa the best of cities," which like several such titles of other chiefs⁸ simply shows that he belonged to the family that once reigned with glory at Kalyāṇa. The village conveyed by the grant was Teravāṭaka, identified with Teravan itself, from which it would appear that Kāmavadeva was chief of that part of Konkan. There is an inscription in the temple

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Assumption
of supreme
sovereignty by
Vijaya.

Someśvara IV.

Extinction of the
Chälukya power.

A branch of the
Chälukya family in
Southern Konkan.

¹ P. S. & O. C. Ins. Nos 219 and 182.

² Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.

³ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 140.

⁴ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16; Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, l. 29.

⁵ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 16.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300, ll. 29-30.

⁷ Published in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. V., in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 105, and Memoir, Sāvantvādi State, Govt. Rec. No. X.

⁸ See *infra*, Section XVI.

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of Ambábái at Kolhápur in which is recorded the grant of a village by Somadeva who belonged to the Chálukya family and reigned at Saingameśvara, which is twelve *kos* to the north-east of Ratnâgiri. Somadeva was the son of Vetngideva and the father of the last was Karṇadeva.¹ Probably the Kārnadeva of the Terayan grant belonged to this branch of the family. There are still Maráṭhā families of the name of Chálke reduced to poverty in the Saingameśvara Táluka or in the vicinity.

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol II., p. 263.

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THE KALACHURIS.

THE earliest mention of a family of this name that we have is in connection with Maṅgalīśa of the early Chālukya dynasty. Vinayāditya is represented in one of his inscriptions to have subdued the Haihayas and Vikramāditya II. married, as we have seen, two girls who were sisters belonging to the family.¹ The later Rāshṭrakūṭa princes were also connected by marriage with the Haihayas. This family known also by the name of Kalachuri or Kulachuri² ruled over Chedi or the country about Jabalpur. The Kalachuris of Kalyāṇa must have been an offshoot of this family. One of the titles used by Vijjaṇa was *Kālāñjarapuravarddhisvara* "or Lord of the best city of Kālāñjara."³ Kālāñjara was a stronghold belonging to the rulers of Chedi⁴ and was probably their capital, though Tripura, the modern Tevur, is also known to have been the principal seat of the family. The title, therefore, connects the Kalyāṇa branch of the Kalachuris with the Chedi family. This branch was founded by Kṛishṇa, who in the Belgaum grant⁵ is spoken of as "another Kṛishṇa," the incarnation of Viṣṇu, and as "having done wonderful deeds even during his boyhood." He was succeeded by his son Jogama, and Jogama by his son Paramardin. Paramardin was the father of Vijjaṇa. Vijjaṇa before his usurpation called himself only a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara or minor chief, and is first mentioned as a feudatory of Jagadekamalla, the successor of Someśvara III.⁶ The manner in which he drove away Taila III. from Kalyāṇa, and having raised himself to the supreme power in the state gradually assumed the titles of a paramount sovereign, has already been described. But soon after, a religious revolution took place at Kalyāṇa, and Vijjaṇa and his family succumbed to it.

The principal leader of that revolution was a person of the name of Basava. A work in Kanarese entitled *Basava Purāṇa* gives an account of Basava; but it is full of marvellous stories and relates the wonderful miracles wrought by him. The principal incidents, however, may be relied on as historical. On the other hand there is another work entitled *Vijjalarāyacharita*, written by a Jaina, which gives an account of the events from the opposite side, since the attacks of the Liṅgāyatas were chiefly directed against the Jainas, and these were their enemies.

Basava was the son of a Brāhmaṇ named Mādirāja, who lived at Bāgevaḍi in the Kalāḍgi district. Baḷadeva, the prime minister of Vijjaṇa, was his maternal uncle and gave him his daughter in marriage.⁷ After Baḷadeva's death the king appointed Basava his

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Original seat of the Kalachuri or Haihaya family.

A religious revolution at Kalyāṇa.

Its leader.

Basava.

¹ *Supra*, Section X.

² See grant published in Arch. Surv. West. Ind., No. 10.

³ Jour. B. B. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 330, No. 50.

⁴ Bilhapa's Vikr. Ch., XVIII., p. 93. Karṇa seems to be represented here to have conquered Kālāñjara.

⁵ Jour. B. B. A. S., Vol. XVIII., p. 270.

⁶ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 119.

⁷ Basava Purāṇa, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 67.

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prime minister as being closely related to Baladeva.¹ The Jains, however, state that Basava had a beautiful sister named Padmāvatī, of whom the king became enamoured and whom he either married or made his mistress²; and it was on that account that he was raised to that office and became a man of influence. There must be some truth in this story; for the Basava Purāṇa narrates that the king gave his younger sister Nilalochanā in marriage to Basava, which looks as if it were a counter-story devised to throw discredit on the other which was so derogatory to Basava.³ Basava had another sister named Nāgalāmbikā, who had a son named Chenna-Basava or Basava the younger. In concert with him Basava began to propound a new doctrine and a new mode of worshipping Śiva, in which the Liṅga and the Nandi or bull were prominent. He speedily got a large number of followers, and ordained a great many priests, who were called Jangamas. Basava had charge of the king's treasury, and out of it he spent large amounts in supporting and entertaining these Jangamas, who led a profligate life. Vijjana had another minister named Mañchappā, who was the enemy of Basava, and informed the king of his rival's embezzlements.⁴ In the course of time Vijjana was completely alienated from Basava and endeavoured to apprehend him. But he made his escape with a number of followers, whereupon the king sent some men in pursuit. These were easily dispersed by Basava, and then Vijjana advanced in person. But a large number of followers now joined Basava, and the king was defeated and had to submit to his minister. Basava was allowed to return to Kalyāṇa and reinstated in his office.⁵ There was, however, no possibility of a complete reconciliation, and after some time the leader of the new sect conceived the design of putting the king to death. The circumstances that immediately led to the deed and the manner in which it was perpetrated are thus stated in the Basava Purāṇa.

Basava's rebellion.

Basava plans the murder of the King.

Account of the event according to the Basava Purāṇa.

At Kalyāṇa there were two pious Lingāyatās named Halleyaga and Madhuvēyya, who were the devout adherents of their master Basava. Vijjana, listening to the calumnious accusations of their enemies, caused their eyes to be put out. All the disciples of Basava were highly indignant at this cruel treatment of these holy men, and assembled in their master's house. Basava ordered Jagaddeva to murder the king, pronounced a curse on Kalyāṇa, and left the town. Jagaddeva hesitated for a moment, but his mother spurred him on, and with two companions, Mallaya and Bommya, went straight to the palace of the king; and rushing through the throng of courtiers, counsellors, and princes, they drew their poignards and stabbed Vijjana. Thence they went into the streets, and brandishing their weapons proclaimed the reason of their perpetrating the deed. Then arose dissensions in the city, men fought with men, horses with horses, and elephants with elephants; the race of Vijjana was extinct, Kalyāṇa was a heap of ruins, and the curse pronounced

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 69.

² *Ib.*, p. 97. Sir W. Elliot's paper, Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 20.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 70.

⁴ *Ib.*, pp. 78 & 89.

⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 21; Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 89.

by Basava was verified. Basava went in haste to his favourite shrine of Saṅgameśvara, situated on the confluence of the Malaprabhā with the Kṛishṇā, and there in compliance with his prayers the god absorbed him in his body.¹

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Jaina account.

The account given by the Jainas is different. Vijjana had gone on an expedition to Kolhāpur to reduce the Śilāhāra chief Bhoja II. to subjection. In the course of his march back to the capital he encamped at a certain place on the banks of the Bhīmā, and, while reposing in his tent, Basava sent to him a Jaṅgama disguised as a Jaina with a poisoned fruit. Vijjana, who is said to have been a Jaina himself, unsuspectingly took the fruit from the hands of the seeming Jaina priest; and as soon as he smelled it, he became senseless. His son Immadi Vijjana and others hastened to the spot, but to no purpose. Vijjana, however, somewhat recovered his senses for a short while; and knowing who it was that had sent the poisoned fruit, enjoined his son to put Basava to death. Immadi Vijjana gave orders that Basava should be arrested and all Jaṅgamas, wherever found, executed.² On hearing of this, Basava fled; and being pursued went to the Malabār coast and took refuge at a place called Ulavi.³ The town was closely invested and Basava in despair threw himself into a well and died, while his wife Nīlāmbā put an end to her existence by drinking poison. When Vijjana's son was pacified, Chenna-Basava surrendered all his uncle's property to him and was admitted into favour.⁴ He now became the sole leader of the Liṅgāyatas, but, even before, his position was in some respects superior to that of Basava. The religious portion of the movement was under his sole direction, and it was he who shaped the creed of the sect. In him the *Pragna* or sacred syllable *Om* is said to have become incarnate to teach the doctrines of the Vira Śaiva faith to Basava,⁵ and, according to the Chenna-Basava Purāṇa, "Chenna-Basava was Śiva: Basava, Vṛishabha (or Śiva's bull, the Nandin); Bijjala, the door-keeper; Kalyāṇa, Kailāsa; (and) Śiva worshippers (or Liṅgāyatas), the Śiva host (or the troops of Śiva's attendants.)"⁶

Chenna-Basava's leadership.

Vijjana's death took place in Śaka 1089 (1090 current), or A.D. 1167. He was succeeded by his son Soma, who is also called Sovideva or Someśvara. The Belgaum copper-plate charter was issued by him on the twelfth of the bright half of Kārttika in Śaka 1098, the cyclic year being *Jaya*, to confirm the grant of land to fourteen Brāhmanas⁷ and the god Someśvara made by one of his queens named Bāvaladevī.⁸ The king had given her his consent to make the grant as a reward for a beautiful song that she sang on an occasion when the most influential persons belonging to his own and other kingdoms had gathered together in his audience-hall. Soma reigned till Śaka 1100 and was followed by his brother Saṅkama, whose inscriptions come down to the cyclic year *Subhakṛit*. In an

Sovideva.

Saṅkama.

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 96; Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., pp. 309-310.

² Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 22.

⁴ Wilson's Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

⁵ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. VIII., p. 127.

⁶ *Ib.*, p. 311.

Section XIII.

**Extinction of the
Kalachuri dynasty.**

**Religious and social
condition of the
people during the
later Chālukya
period.**

Buddhism.

Jainism.

**Purāṇic religion.
Codification of
the civil and
religious law.**

inscription at Balagāṃve the cyclic year *Vikārin* (S. 1101) is called the third of his reign,¹ while in another at the same place the same year is spoken of as the fifth.² In other inscriptions we have two names Saṅkama and Ahavamalla and the cyclic years *Sārvarin* (S. 1102) and *Plava* (S. 1103) are represented as the third year of his or their reign, which is possible, and *Subhakrit* (S. 1104) as the eighth.³ About Saka 1104 the Chālukya prince Someśvara IV. wrested some of the provinces of his ancestral dominions from the Kalachuris, and the rest must have been conquered by the Northern Yādavas; so that about this time the Kalachuri dynasty became extinct.

During the period occupied by the later Chālukya dynasty and the Kalachuris (Saka 895-1110 or A.D. 973-1188), the old state of things as regards the religious and social condition of the country may be said to have finally disappeared and the new ushered in. First, we have in this period what might be considered the last traces of Buddhism. In the reign of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II., in the cyclic year *Yuran*, and the nineteenth of his era (Saka 1017), sixteen merchants of the Vaiśya caste constructed a Buddhist *vihāra* or monastery and temple at Dharmavolal, the modern Dambal in the Dhārvād district and assigned for its support and for the maintenance of another *vihāra* at Lokkigunḍi, the modern Lakkundi, a field and a certain amount of money to be raised by voluntary taxation.⁴ In Saka 1032 the Śilāhāra chief of Kolhāpur constructed a large tank and placed on its margin an idol of Buddha along with those of Śiva and Arhat, and assigned lands for their support.⁵ Jainism ceased in this period to be the conquering religion that it was, and about the end received an effectual check by the rise of the Jīṅgāyata sect. This new creed spread widely among the trading classes, which before were the chief supporters of Jainism. There is a tradition in some parts of the country that some of the existing temples contained Jaina idols at one time and that afterwards they were thrown out and Brāhmanic ones placed instead. This points to a change of feeling with reference to Jainism, the origin of which must be referred to this period.

The worship of the Purāṇic gods flourished; and as in the times of the early Chālukyas the old sacrificial rites were reduced to a system, so during this period the endeavours of the Brāhmanas and their adherents were for the first time directed towards reducing the civil and the ordinary religious law to a system, or towards its codification, as it might be called. The texts or precepts on the subject were scattered in a great many Smṛtis and Purāṇas; and often there were apparent inconsistencies and the law was doubtful. *Nibandhas* or digests, of which we have now so many, began to be written in this period, but the form which they first took, and which even now is one of the recognized forms, was that of commentaries on Smṛtis. Bhoja of Dhārā, who belongs to the first part of this

¹ P. S. & O. C. Ins. No. 183.

² *Ib.* Nos. 190, 192 and 193.

³ *Jour. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. XIII, p. 4, and *infra*, Section XVI.

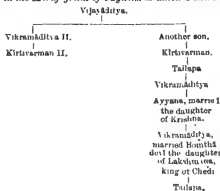
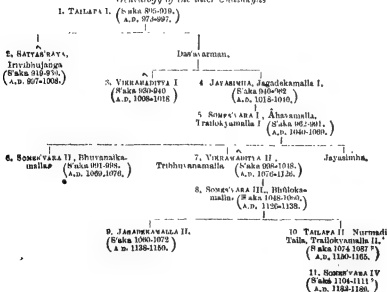
⁴ *Ib.* No. 189.

⁵ *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X., p. 185.

period, must have written a treatise on the subject, since under the name of Dhāreśvara he is referred to by Vijñāneśvara in his work. He was followed by Vijñāneśvara, who, as we have seen, lived at Kalyāṇa in the reign of Vikramāditya II. Apaiārka, another commentator on Yājñavalkya, who calls his work a *nibandha* on the *Dharmasāstra* or institutes of Yājñavalkya, was a prince of the Silāhāra family of northern Konkan and was on the throne in Śaka 1109 (A.D. 1187) and in the cyclic year *Parābhava*.¹ Or, if he was the earlier prince of that name, he must have flourished about fifty years before. This movement was continued in the next or thirteenth century by Hemādri, and by Sāyana in the fourteenth.

Section XIII.

Genealogy of the Chālukya family between Vijayāditya and Tailapa as given in the Mūray grant of Jayasimha dated Śaka 946.

*Genealogy of the later Chālukyas*

¹ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., pp. 334-335.

SECTION XIV.

THE YĀDAYAS OF DEVAGIRI.

*Early History of the Family.***Section XIV.****Authorities.**

THE genealogy of the Yādavas is given in the introduction to the *Vṛtakhaṇḍa* attributed to or composed by Hemādri who was a minister of Mahādeva, one of the later princes of the dynasty. Some of the manuscripts of the work, however, do not contain it, and in others it begins with Bhīllama, as it was he who acquired supreme power and raised the dynasty to importance. Others again contain an account of the family from the very beginning, the first person mentioned being the Moon who was churned out of the milky ocean. From the Moon the genealogy is carried down through all the Purāṇic or legendary ancestors to Mahādeva. But it is not difficult from the account itself to determine where the legend ends and history begins. Besides, the names of most of the historical predecessors of Bhīllama agree with those occurring in the copper-plate grant translated by Papdit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī.¹ He considered the Yādava dynasty mentioned in his grant to be different from that of Devagiri and called it "A New Yādava Dynasty," as, of course, in the absence of the information I now publish, he was justified in doing. But it is now perfectly clear that the princes mentioned in the grant were the ancestors of the Devagiri Yādavas. The following early history of the family is based on the account given in the *Vṛtakhaṇḍa*, and on the grant published by the Papdit. The latter, however, brings down the genealogy only to

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 119 *et seq.*

² The edition of the *Vṛtakhaṇḍa* in the Bibliotheca Indica contains neither of these two very valuable and important *Prasasti*. I have therefore had recourse to manuscripts. There is one manuscript only in the Government collections deposited in the Library of the Dekkan College and that is No. 234 of Collection A of 1881-82 which was made by me. It contains the shorter *Prasasti* beginning with the reign of Bhīllama. There is another copy in the collection belonging to the old Sanskrit College of Poona, which contains the longer *Prasasti*. Unfortunately, however, the third and fourth leaves of the manuscript are missing; and the second ends with Paramadeva the successor of Seunachandra II., while the fifth begins with some of the last stanzas of the introduction referring to Hemādri and his works. The valuable portion therefore was in leaves 3 and 4, but that is irretrievably lost. I therefore endeavoured to procure copies from the private collections in the city of Poona and obtained one from Khisgivala's library. It contains the shorter *Prasasti* only. My learned friend Gaṅgādhara Śastri Dattā procured another. In it the two, the shorter one and the longer, are jumbled together. There are in the commencement the first seventeen stanzas of the shorter, and then the longer one begins; and after that is over, we have the remaining stanzas of the shorter. This is the only manuscript of the form now before me which contains the whole of the longer *Prasasti*, and the information it gives about the later princes of the dynasty known to us from the inscriptions is also valuable and new, but the manuscript is extremely incorrect. I therefore caused a search for other copies to be made at Nāsik, Kolhāpur, and Ahmedabad; but none was available at those places. I give the two *Prasastis* in Appendix C. [Since the first edition was published I have obtained and purchased another copy of the *Vṛtakhaṇḍa* for the Government collections. The introductory portion here is more correctly written, and I have used it in revising this section and the *Prasasti* in Appendix C.]

Seunachandra II. who was on the throne in 991 Śaka or 1069 A.D., and omits the names of some of the intermediate princes. Two other grants by princes of this dynasty found at Saṅganner and Kalas-Budruk of earlier dates¹ have been recently published, and these also have been compared.

Subāhu who belonged to the Yālava race was a universal sovereign. He had four sons among whom he divided the whole earth ruled over by him. The second son Dṛidhaprahāra² became king in the south or Dekkan. The Yālavas, it is stated, were at first lords of Mathurā; then from the time of Kṛishṇa they became sovereigns of Dvāravatī or Dvārakā; and came to be rulers of the south from the time of the son of Subāhu, *viz.* Dṛidhaprahāra. His capital was Sṛinagara according to the Vratakhanda, while from the grant it appears to have been a town of the name of Chaudrālityapura, which may have been the modern Chāndor in the Nāsik district. He had a son of the name of Seunachandra who succeeded to the throne. The country over which he ruled was called Seunadesa³ after him, and he appears to have founded a town also of the name of Seunapura. Seunadesa was the name of the region extending from Nāsik to Devagiri, the modern Daulatābād, since later on we are told that Devagiri was situated in Seunadesa and that this latter was situated on the confines of Dapṭakāraṇya.⁴ This name seems to be preserved in the modern Khāndes. In a footnote on the opening page of the Khāndes' Volume, the Editor of the "Bombay Gazetteer" observes that the name of the country was older than Musalman times, and it was afterwards changed by them to suit the title of Khān given to the Fāruki kings by Ahmed I. of Gujārat. Seunadesa, therefore, was very likely the original name and it was changed to Khāndes, which name soon came into general use on account of its close resemblance in sound to Seunadesa. The country however extended farther southwards than the present district of Khāndes, since it included Devagiri or Daulatābād, and probably it did not include the portion north of the Tāpi.

Seunachandra's son Dhālivappa⁵ became king after him and he was succeeded by his son Bhillama. After Bhillama, his son Śrīrāja according to the grants, or Rājāji according to the other authority, came to the throne, and he was succeeded⁶ by his son Vaddiga or Vādugi. Vaddiga is in the Saṅganner grant represented as a follower of Kṛishṇarāja who was probably Kṛishṇa III. of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, and to have married Voddiyavvā, daughter of a

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Dṛidhaprahāra,
the founder of
the family.

Seunachandra I.
Seunadesa.

Seunachandra's
successors.

¹ Mr. Cousen's impression of the first of these grants was seen by me before it was published by Prof. Kielhorn in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II., p. 212 *et seq.*, and its contents embodied in the copy of this work revised for this second edition. I have, however, since availed myself of one or two points made out by Prof. Kielhorn and not noticed by me. The second grant is published in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XVII., p. 120, *et seq.*

² He is called Dṛidhaprahāri (nom. sing.) in the MSS.; stanza 20, Appendix C. I.

³ Stanza 22, Appendix C. I.

⁴ Stanza 19, Appendix C. I.

⁵ Called Dhāliyasa in the MSS.; Appendix C. I., stanza 23.

⁶ *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvanīāl translates the words *avāḍi tasya* (see note 6 below) occurring in the Yādava grant as "before him," and placing Vaddiga before Śrīrāja, conjectures that he was Bhillama's son and that Śrīrāja his uncle deposed him and usurped the throne; (*Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XII., pp. 125a and 128b). But *avāḍi tasya* can never

Section XIV.

Bhīllama II.

prince of the name of Dhorappa. Then came Dhādīyasa,¹ who was the son of Vādugi according to the Vratākhaṇḍa. Two of the grants omit his name, probably because he was only a collateral and not an ancestor of the grantor in the direct line, and the third has a line or two missing here. Dhādīyasa was succeeded by Bhīllama, who was the son of Vaddiga or Vādugi and consequently his brother.² Bhīllama married according to the grants Lakshmi or Lachehiyavvā,³ the daughter of Jhañjha, who was probably the Śilahāra prince of Thānā of that name. Lachehiyavvā sprang on her mother's side from the Rāshtrakūta family, and through her son became "the upholder of the race of Yadu;"⁴ so that she was connected with three ruling dynasties and flourishing kingdoms. The Saṃgamner grant appears to have been issued by this Bhīllama in the Śaka year 929, i. e. 1000 A.D., and the prince mentioned in

mean "before him" and must mean "after him", and hence the conjectures are groundless. I have never seen a *preceding* prince mentioned in the grants after his successor, with such an introductory expression as "*before him* so and so became king." By the occurrence of the word अग्रजिह्वा in stanza 23, line 2, Appendix C. I., it appears Rājagi was the son of Bhīllama I.

¹ Appendix C. I. stanza 24. If he had been mentioned in the grant, he would probably have been called Dhādīyappa.

² *Ibid.* Pandit Bhagvanlāl omits this prince though he is mentioned in his grant. The last two lines of the fourth stanza in this are —

आवीक्ष्य बद्धु मृतलहरि श्रवदिगास्थो नृप-
तस्मात्श्रीवरभिष्टमक्षितिपतेः प्रत्यक्षधर्मोभवत् ॥

The Pandit translates this — "Before him was the illustrious king Vaddiga, a Hari on earth; and therefore he was exactly like the illustrious good Bhīllama in his actions." I have already remarked that instead of "before him," we should have "after him" here. The word तस्मात् is translated by "therefore," "Wherefore?"

I would ask. No reason is given in the first of these lines for his being *exactly like* Bhīllama; and therefore, it will not do to translate तस्मात् by "therefore." Again, the Pandit's interpretation of प्रत्यक्षधर्मो as "exactly like in actions" is far-fetched and unnatural. The thing is, the genitive or ablative क्षितिपतेः cannot be connected with any word in the line, and is therefore one of the innumerable mistakes which we have in this grant and most of which have been pointed out by the Pandit himself. What is wanted here is the nominative क्षितिपतिः for क्षितिपतेः; and then the whole is appropriate, and तस्मात् will have its proper sense of "after him," or "from him."

The correct translation then is "After him was a king of the name of Vaddiga the prosperous, who was a Hari on earth, and after him or of him (i. e. Vaddiga) came the prosperous good Bhīllama in whom Virtue became incarnate." In this way we have here another king Bhīllama, as mentioned in the Prasasti in the Vratākhaṇḍa in the passage cited above.

³ This Lady, according to my translation, becomes the wife of Bhīllama, who is the king mentioned immediately before, and not of his father Vaddiga as the Pandit makes out.

⁴ Here there is another difficulty arising from a mistake in the grant which Pandit Bhagvanlāl has in my opinion not succeeded in solving; and he bases upon that mistake conjectures which are rather too far-reaching (p. 126a, Ind. Ant., Vol. XII.). The stanza is:—

भायो यस्य च संस्तराजतनया श्रीलक्ष्म्यव्याहृत्या
धर्मत्यागविवेकबुद्धिसमुणा राष्ट्रकूटान्वया ।
या जाता नवबालनानसमये यदन्वयाधारिता
समागोष्ठतरान्यभारधरणाद्रायनयार्थ्या ततः॥

The Pandit's translation is:—"Whose wife was the daughter of king Jhañjha Lachhiyavvā by name, possessed of the (three) good qualities of virtue, liberality, and

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the grant as having struck a blow against the power of Muñja and rendered the sovereign authority of Rāparaṅgabhīma firm seems also to be he himself. Rāparaṅgabhīma was probably Tailapa, and thus it follows that the Yādava prince Bhīllama II. assisted Tailapa in his war with Muñja which we have already noticed. Vaddiga was a follower of Kṛṣṇa, III. of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa family, whose latest known date is 881 Śaka, and Bhīllama II. of Tailapa. The date 922 Śaka of Bhīllama's grant is consistent with these facts. The Yādavas appear thus to have transferred their allegiance from the old to the new dynasty of paramount sovereigns as soon as it rose to power. The next king was Vesugi¹ called in Paṇḍit Bhagvānīāl's grant Tesuka, which is a mistake or misreading for Vesuka or Vesuga. He married Nāyaladevī, the daughter of Gogi, who is styled a feudatory of the Chālukya family,² and was perhaps the same as the successor of the Thānā prince Jhañjha. The Rāṣṭrakūṭas must have been overthrown by the Chālukyas about the end of Jhañjha's reign, and thus his successor became a feudatory of the Chālukyas.

hospitality, who was of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race, as being adopted (by them) at the time of the rule of the young prince (during his minority) and who therefore by reason of bearing the burden of the kingdoms, with its seven angas, was an object of reverence to the three kingdoms."

I agree with the Paṇḍit in reading श्री before राष्ट्रकूटान्वया and taking रायप्रय as राज्यप्रय, and, generally, in his translation of the first two and the fourth lines. But the translation of the third line, that is, the portion italicised in the above, is very objectionable. The Paṇḍit reads राज्ञ from राज्ञ and says that the य in यद्वन्वया^० ought to be long for the metre, but would make no sense. Now, in seeking the true solution of the difficulty here, we must bear in mind that in the fourth line the lady is spoken of as "an object of reverence to the three kingdoms." Which are the three kingdoms? First evidently, that of Jhañjha, her father, who is spoken of in the first line; and secondly, that of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas from whose race she is spoken of as having sprung in the second line. Now, we must expect some allusion to the third kingdom in the third line. The third kingdom was clearly that of the Yādavas into whose family she had been married. I, therefore, read यद्वन्वया^० for यद्वन्वया^० and thus the difficulty about the metre is removed, the य becoming prosodically long in consequence of the following द्व. In the same manner I think बालनाज्ञ is a mistake for बालजान. The word जान् the writer must have taken from his vernacular and considered it a Sanskrit word; or probably not knowing Sanskrit well, he must have formed it from the root जन् on the analogy of माद from मद्, नाद from नद्, मान from मन् &c. Or बालनाज्ञ may be considered as a mistake for बालनम, the sense being the same, viz. "birth of a child." The compound यद्वन्वयाधारता is to be dissolved as आधारितः यद्वन्वयः यया। आधारित being made the second member according to Pāṇini II. 2, 87. Or, the line may be read as या याता नवबालजन्मसमये यद्वन्वयाधारता, the dot over ता being omitted by mistake, and याता written as जाता in consequence of the usual confusion between य and ज्ञ. The translation of the line, therefore, is "who became the upholder of the race of Yādu on the occasion of the birth of a new child," i. e. through her child she became the upholder of the Yādava race. In this manner the supposition of her being adopted by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas during the young prince's minority becomes groundless. She must have belonged to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa race on her mother's side.

¹ Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

² The expression बालन्यायमण्डलीक in the grant admits of being taken in the manner I have done, मण्डलीक being a mistake for माण्डलीक. The Paṇḍit understands Gogīraja as belonging to the Chālukya race. I consider my interpretation to be more probable.

Section XIV.

Bhūllama III.,
son-in-law of
Jayasinha.

Seunachandra II.,
the ally of
Vikramāditya II.

The Vratākhaṇḍa places Arjuna after Vesugi,¹ but the two grants omit his name; and perhaps the former mentions Arjuna not as a Yādava prince, but Arjuna the Pāṇḍava, meaning to compare Vesugi with him and his enemies to Bhīṣma. The next king was Bhūllama² who according to the Kalas-Budruk grant was Vesugi's son. He married Hamṁā, the daughter of Jayasinha and sister of Ahavamalla, the Chālukya emperor, under whose standard he fought several battles.³ The Kalas-Budruk charter was issued by this prince in 948 Śaka. The cyclic year being Krodhana, 948 Śaka must have been the current year, corresponding to 1025 A.D. Paṇḍit Bhagvānāl's grant then proceeds at once to the donor, the reigning prince Seṇṇa, who is spoken of in general terms as "having sprung from the race" of the last-mentioned king, and is represented to have defeated several kings and freed his kingdom from enemies after "the death of Bhūllama." This Bhūllama was his immediate predecessor, but he was a different person from the brother-in-law of Ahavamalla, since Seṇṇa is spoken of not as the son of the latter or any such near relation but simply as "having sprung from his race." The Vratākhaṇḍa supplies the names of the intermediate princes. The elder Bhūllama was succeeded by Vādugi,⁴ his son, "whose praise was sung by poets in melodious words." After him Vesugi⁵ became king, but how he was related to Vādugi we are not told. He humbled a number of subordinate chiefs who had grown troublesome. Then came Bhūllama, and after him Seṇṇa⁶ who issued the charter translated by Paṇḍit Bhagvānāl. What relationship the last three princes bore to each other is not stated. Seṇṇa is represented to have saved Paramarddeva, that is, Vikramāditya II., who is styled the "luminary of the Chālukya family" from a coalition of his enemies, and to have placed him on the throne of Kalyāṇa.⁷ This appears to be a reference to the coalition between the Veṅgi prince and Vikramāditya's brother Somesvara. The Yādava prince Seṇṇa was thus a close ally of the Chālukya monarch and their dates also are consistent with the fact. Seṇṇachandra's grant is dated Śaka 991 *Samvatsara Sahivatsara*, while Vikramāditya II. got possession of the Chālukya throne in Śaka 998 *Nala*. The grant mentions the relations of previous Yādava princes to the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, while the important service rendered by Seṇṇachandra to Vikramāditya is not recorded, and he is spoken of only in general terms as having vanquished "all kings." This itself shows that in all likelihood the fact mentioned in the Vratākhaṇḍa of Seṇṇachandra's having delivered that prince from his enemies and placed him on the throne took place after Śaka 991, and we know it as a matter of fact that Vikramāditya became king in Śaka 998.

¹ Stanza 24, Appendix C. I.

² Stanza 26, *Ibid*.

³ Thus appears to me to be the general sense of stanza 8 and not that he fought with Ahavamalla as Paṇḍit Bhagvānāl understands. I need not discuss the matter in detail.

⁴ Stanza 26, Appendix C. I.

⁵ Stanza 27, *Ibid*.

⁶ Stanza 28, *Ib*.

⁷ Stanza 29, *Ib*.

Senpachandra was succeeded by Parammadeva who was probably his son, and after him came Sīnhaīāja¹ or "King Sīnha," whose full name was Sīnghaṇa² and who appears to have been his brother. He is said to have brought an elephant of the name of Karpūratilaka from Lañjīpura and thus did a piece of service to Paramārdin, who appears to be Vikramāditya II. of the Chālukya dynasty.³ He was succeeded by his son Mallugi, who took a town of the name of Parnakhetā from his enemies, and while residing there carried away by force the troop of elephants belonging to the king of Utkala or Orissa.⁴ Then followed his son Amaragāṅgeya⁵ whose name is mentioned in a copper-plate grant issued in the reign of a subsequent king.⁶ After him came Govindarāja who was probably his son. Govindarāja was succeeded by Amaramallagi, a son of Mallugi, and he by Kāliya Ballāla. This prince was in all likelihood the son of Amaramallagi, though it is not expressly stated. Ballāla's sons were set aside and the sovereignty of the Yādava family fell into the hands of his uncle Bhīllama,⁷ who was possessed of superior abilities. Bhīllama being represented as the uncle of Ballāla must have been another son of Mallugi, and he is so spoken of in the grant referred to above.⁸ He got possession of the throne after two of his brothers and their sons, wherefore he must have been a very old man at the time. Hence it is that he reigned only for a short time, having come to the throne in Śaka 1109 and died in 1113. It was this Bhīllama who acquired for his family the empire that was ruled over by the Chālukyas.

Pandit Bhagvānlāl has published a stone-inscription⁹ existing in a ruined temple at Añjaneri near Nāsik, in which a chief of the Yādava family, named Senpadeva, is represented to have made some grant in the Śaka year 1063¹⁰ to a Jaina temple. From the account given above, it will be seen that there were two princes only of the name of Senpa in the Yādava family, and that the later of the two was an ally of Vikramāditya II., and consequently reigned about the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century of the Śaka

Section XIV.

Successors of
Senpachandra II.

Bhīllama V.,
the founder
of the Yādava
Empire.

Senpachandra
of Añjaneri.

¹ Stanzas 30 and 31, Appendix C. I.

² Stanza 32, Appendix C. I.

³ Stanza 35, *Ibid.*

⁴ Stanzas 35-37, Appendix C. I.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 315.

⁶ Stanzas 33 and 34, *Ibid.*

⁷ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386.

⁸ In an inscription at Gadag published by Dr. Kielhorn (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 219) Bhīllama is represented as the son of Karṇa, who is said to be a brother of Amaragāṅgeya. In the many inscriptions of the Yādava dynasty and in the Prāśasti given in several books the name Karṇa does not occur even once. The Gadag inscription makes Mallugi the son of Senpadeva, while in the Vratakhaṇḍa and the Parthian plates he is represented as the son of Sīnghaṇa, who according to the former authority was one of the successors of Senpachandra and was probably his younger son. The inscription is here opposed to two authorities which agree with each other. Hence this must be a mistake; and that makes it probable that the other is also a mistake. These suppositions are strengthened by the fact that the composer of the Gadag inscription does not mention a single particular fact with reference to any one of the princes, thus showing that he had no accurate knowledge of them. Such a merely conventional description is characteristic of a forged charter. I am, for these reasons, inclined to think that the Gadag grant published by Dr. Kielhorn is a forgery.

⁹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XII., p. 126.

¹⁰ The correct year has been shown to be 1064 Śaka by Prof. Kielhorn, *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. XX., p. 422.

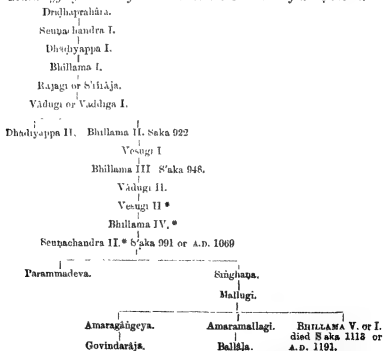
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era. The Senṇadeva of the Añjaneri inscription therefore cannot be this individual, and no other prince of that name is mentioned in the Vratakhaṇḍa. Besides Senṇadeva calls himself pointedly a *Mahāśmanta* or chief only; while about 1063 S'aka, when the Chālukya power had begun to decline, it does not appear likely that the Yādavas of Senṇadeśa should give themselves such an inferior title. It therefore appears to me that the Senṇadeva of Añjaneri belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family dependent on the main branch, and that the branch ruled over a small district of which Añjaneri was the chief city.

Approximate date
of the foundation
of the Yādava
family.

The number of princes who reigned from Dridhaprahāra to Bhīllama V. inclusive is 22. There are in the list a good many who belonged to the same generation as their predecessors and consequently these twenty-two do not represent so many different generations. Allowing, therefore, the usual average, in such cases of 18 years to each reign, the period that must have elapsed between the accession of Dridhaprahāra and the death of Bhīllama V. is 396 years. The dynasty, therefore, was founded about 717 S'aka or 795 A.D., that is, about the time of Govind III. of the Rāshtrakūṭa race. Possibly considering that Vaddiga I. was contemporary of Kṛṣṇa III., one might say that the dynasty was founded in the latter part of the reign of Amoghavarsha I.

Genealogy of the early Yādavas or the Yādavas of Senṇadeśa.



*The relations of those whose names are marked with an asterisk to their predecessors are not clearly stated.

THE DEKKAN.

105.

SECTION XV.

THE YĀDAVAS OF DEVAGIRI.

Later History.

We have seen that the Hoysala Yādavas of Halebid in Maisur were becoming powerful in the time of Tribhuvanamalla or Vikramāditya II. and aspiring to the supreme sovereignty of the Dekkan, and Vishnuvardhana, the reigning prince of the family at that period, actually invaded the Chālukya territory and encamped on the banks of the Krishnā-Veṇā. But those times were not favourable for the realization of their ambitious projects. The Chālukya prince was a man of great ability, the power of the family was firmly established over the country, its resources were large, and the dependent chiefs and noblemen were obedient. But the state of things had now changed. Weaker princes had succeeded, the Chālukya power had been broken by their dependents the Kalachuris, and these in their turn had succumbed to the internal troubles and dissensions consequent on the rise of the Lingāyata sect. At this time the occupant of the Hoysala throne was Vira Ballāja, the grandson of Vishnuvardhana. He fought with Brāhmin or Bōmina, the general of the last Chālukya prince Somesvara IV, and putting down his elephants by means of his horses defeated him and acquired the provinces which the general had won back from Vijjaṇa.¹

The Yādavas of the north were not slow to take advantage of the unsettled condition of the country to extend their power and territory. Mallugi seems to have been engaged in a war with Vijjaṇa. A person of the name of Dādā was commander of his troops of elephants and is represented to have gained some advantages over the army of the Kalachuri prince. He had four sons of the names of Mahādihara, Jahla, Sāmba, and Gaṅgādihara. Of these Mahādihara succeeded his father and is spoken of as having defeated the forces of Vijjaṇa.² But the acquisition of the empire of the Chālukyas was

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Ambitious
projects of the
Hoysala Yādavas.

Vira Ballāja.

Rise of Bhilāna.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300.

² Introduction to Jahlaṅ's Śāktimuktavali, now brought to notice for the first time :

तस्याख्येऽभूत्करिबृन्दनाथो दादाः सदादाननिदानम् ।

यस्येक्षणादिज्जगत्प्रसिद्धं दिव्यं मतं संपति विक्रमेण ॥ ५ ॥

चत्वारस्तस्य संजातास्तनया नयशालिनः ।

भुजा इव हरेः शस्त्रदिकमर्थाविष्मिताः ॥ ६ ॥

चतुर्मुखमुखोद्गीर्णनिगमा इव ते बभूव ।

ख्याता महीधरो जलः साम्बो बहुधास्तथा ॥ ७ ॥

उपायैरिव तैः काले चतुर्भिः हृत्प्रयोजितैः ।

मे (मे) लुगिश्चोणिपालस्य राज्यं जातं सदोजतम् ॥ ८ ॥

विज्जगन्बलजलराशि विमध्य भुजमन्दरेण यः कृतवान् ।

वीरभियमकस्यां स न कस्य महीधरः स्तुत्यः ॥ ९ ॥

The full introduction will be published elsewhere.

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completed by Mallugi's son Bhillama. He captured a town of the name of Srivardhana from a king who is called Antala, vanquished in battle the king of Pratyandaka, put to death the ruler of Mangalaveshṭaka, (Mangalvedheim), of the name of Villana, and having obtained the sovereignty of Kalyāna, put to death the lord of Hosala who was probably the Hoysala Yādava Narasimha, the father of Vira Ballāla.¹ The commander of his elephants was Jahla, the brother of Mahādhara, and he is represented to have rendered Bhillama's power firm. He led a maddened elephant skilfully into the army of the Gōrjara king, struck terror into the heart of Malla, frightened the forces of Mallugi, and put an end to the victorious career of Muṇja and Anna.² When in this manner Bhillama made himself master of the whole country to the north of the Kṛishṇā, he founded the city of Devagiri³ and having got himself crowned, made that city his capital. This took place about the Śaka year 1103.

Foundation of
Devagiri.

Contests between
the rivals.

Bhillama then endeavoured to extend his territory farther southwards, but he was opposed by Vira Ballāla, who, as we have seen, had been pushing his conquests northwards. It was a contest for the possession of an empire and was consequently arduous and determined. Several battles took place between the two rivals, and eventually a decisive engagement was fought at Lakkigundi, now Lakkundi, in the Dhārāvād District, in which Jaitrasimha, who is compared to "the right arm of Bhillama" and must have been his son, was defeated and Vira Ballāla became sovereign of Kuntala. The inscription in which this is recorded bears the date Śaka 1114 or A.D. 1192;⁴ and Vira Ballāla who made the grant recorded in it was at that time encamped with his victorious army at Lakkigundi, from which it would appear that the battle had taken place but a short time before. The northern Yādavas had to put off the conquest of Kuntala or the Southern Marāṭhā Country for a generation.

Jaitrapāla.

Bhillama was succeeded in 1113 Śaka by his son Jaitrapāla or Jaitugi. He took an active part in his father's battles. "He assumed

¹ Appendix C. I., stanza 58. Mangalvedheim is near Pandharpur. It was probably the capital of a minor chief.

² Intr. Jahli, Sukti. :-

विजित्य विज्जगं याते सुरलोकं महीधरे ।
 निनाय मिहमं जहो राजतां क्षयवजिताम् ॥ ११ ॥
 गूर्जरभूयुक्के कण्टविषमेऽतिदुर्गे येन ।
 भगदत्तकीर्तिभाजा दुष्टगण-स्वेच्छया नातः ॥ १२ ॥
 मङ्गः पङ्कवितोरमीतिरभितल्लस्यद्वलो मैलुमि-
 र्युञ्जः पिण्डतविकमखिभुवनब्रह्मा किल ब्राह्मणः ।
 अनी नुत्तपराक्रमो विद्युतमूर्धन्यैर्गणप्राङ्गणे
 येनाकारि घुरपरिविक्रमश्रुता किं किं न तस्योन्नितम् ॥ १३ ॥

The Mallugi mentioned here must have been one of the enemies of Bhillama. He probably belonged to a minor branch of the Yādava family.

³ Appendix C. I., st. 39.

⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 300.

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the sacrificial vow on the holy ground of the battle-field and throwing a great many kings into the fire of his prowess by means of the lances of his weapons, performed a human sacrifice by immolating a victim in the shape of the fierce Rudra, the lord of the Tailangas, and vanquished the three worlds."¹ This same fact is alluded to in the Paithan grant, in which Jaitugi is represented to have killed the king of the Trikalīngas in battle. He is there spoken of also as having released Gaṇapati from prison and to have placed him on the throne.² The Rudra therefore whom he is thus represented to have killed on the field of battle must have been the Rudradeva of the Kākatiya dynasty whose inscription we have at Anamkond near Worāṅgal, and the Gaṇapati, his nephew³ who was probably placed in confinement by Rudradeva. In other places also his war with the king of the Andhras or Tailāṅgas and his having raised Gaṇapati to the throne are alluded⁴ to, and he is represented to have deprived the Andhra ladies of the happiness arising from having their husbands living.⁵ Lakṣmīdharma, the son of the celebrated mathematician and astronomer Bhāskara-charya, was in the service of Jaitrapāla and was placed by him at the head of all learned Pandits. He knew the Vedas and was versed in the Tarkasāstra and Mīmāṃsā.⁶

Jaitrapāla's son and successor was Singhapa, under whom the power and territory of the family greatly increased. He ascended the throne in 1132 Saka.⁷ He defeated a king of the name of Jajjala and brought away his elephants. He deprived a monarch named Kakkōla of his sovereignty, destroyed Arjuna who was probably the sovereign of Mālvā, and made Bhoja a prisoner. Janārdana, the son of Gaṅgādhara, who was Jajjala's brother, is said to have taught Singhapa the art of managing elephants which enabled him to vanquish Arjuna.⁸ He had succeeded to the office of commander of elephants held by Jajjala and after him by Gaṅgādhara. "King Laksh-

Singhapa.

¹ Appendix C. I., st. 41. Just as the fruit of a horse sacrifice is the conquest of the whole world, the fruit of a man-sacrifice is supposed here to be the conquest of the three worlds. Jaitrapāla performed metaphorically such a sacrifice; and that is considered to be the reason, as it were, of his having obtained victories everywhere, i. e. in the usual hyperbolic language, of his having succeeded in vanquishing the three worlds.

² Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., p. 197.

⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., p. 386, and Epigraphia Indica, Vol. III., p. 113.

⁵ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414.

⁶ *Ib* p. 415.

⁷ Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 5.

⁸ Intr. Jahl. Sukt. :-

आसीद्गङ्गाधरस्तस्य भ्राता गङ्गाधरोपमः ।

एकान्वबन्ध यो व्यालान्मुमोषैकान्वदृच्छया ॥ १६ ॥

तस्यामवत्सुहृदुत्तसन्वो जनादेनाहं करियाहिनीशः ।

समुद्रवचो मुवनं बभार सह श्रिया चित्रमशेषमेतत् ॥ १८ ॥

सिंहोऽप्यध्यापितस्तेन गजशिखां तदद्भुतम् ।

यजार्हं तस्यस्यं समूलमुदमूलयत् ॥ २० ॥

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mīdhara, the lion of Bhambhāgiri, was reduced, the ruler of Dhārā was besieged by means of troops of horses, and the whole of the country in the possession of Ballāla was taken. All this was but a child's play to King Singhapa.¹ Jajjalla must have been a prince belonging to the eastern branch of the Chedi dynasty that ruled over the province of Chhattisgarh, for that name occurs in the genealogy of that dynasty.² The name Kakkūla I would identify with Kokkala which was borne by some princes of the western branch of the family, the capital of which was Tripura or Tevur. The kings of Mathurā and Kāśī were killed by him in battle, and Hammira was vanquished by but a boy-general of Singhapa.³ In an inscription also at Tlīvalli in the Dhārvād District, he is represented to have defeated Jajalladeva, conquered Ballāla the Hoysala king, subdued Bhoja of Panhālā, and humbled the sovereign of Mālava.⁴ He is also spoken of as "the god of the elephant in the shape of the Gūrjara king."⁵ We have an inscription of his at Gaddaka dated 1135 Śaka, which shows that Vira Ballāla must have been deprived of the southern part of the country before that time.⁶ Singhana is represented as reigning at his capital Devagiri.⁷

The Bhoja of Panhālā spoken of above was a prince of the Śulāhara dynasty, and after his defeat the Kolhāpur kingdom appears to have been annexed by the Yālavas to their dominions. They put an end to this branch of the family as later on they did to another which ruled over Northern Konkan. From this time forward the Kolhāpur inscriptions contain the names of the Yālava princes with those of the governors appointed by them to rule over the district. An inscription of Singhana at Khediāpur in that district records the grant of a village to the temple of Koppeśvara in the year 1136 Śaka.

Singhapa's
invasions of
Gujarāt.

Singhapa seems to have invaded Gujarāt several times. In an inscription at Ārabein a Brāhmapriest of the name of Kholeśvara of the Mudgala Gotra is spoken of as a very brave general in the service of the Yādava sovereign. He humbled the pride of the Gūrjara prince, crushed the Mālava, destroyed the race of the king of the Ābhīras, and being like "wild fire to the enemies" of his master, left nothing for Singhapa to be anxious about. His son Rāma succeeded him, and a large expedition under his command was again sent to Gujarāt. Rāma advanced up to the Narmadā, where a battle was fought, in which he slew numbers of Gūrjara soldiers, but he himself lost his life.⁸ From this it would appear that Gujarāt was invaded by Singhapa on two occasions at least, if not more; and this is borne out by what we find stated in the authorities

¹ Appendix C I., st. 43 and 44. Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.

² General Cunningham's Arch. Reports, Vol. XVII., pp. 76, 78 and 79.

³ Jour. B. A. S., Vol. I., N. S., p. 414.

⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. IX., p. 326.

⁵ Major Graham's Report on Kolhapur, Ins. No. 13.

⁶ Ind. Ant., Vol. II., p. 297.

⁷ Major Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10.

⁸ Arch. Surv. of W. I., Vol. III., p. 85.

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First Invasion.

for the history of Gujarât. Somadeva, the author of the *Kîrttikaumudî*, which gives an account of the minister Vastujâla and his masters the princes of the Vâghelâ branch of the Chaulukya family, describes an invasion of Gujarât by Siṅghapa in the time of Lavaprasâda and his son Viradhavala. "The capital of Gujarât trembled with fear when the advance of Siṅghapa's army was reported. Being afraid of this foreign invasion no one among the subjects of the Gûrjara king began the construction of a new house or stored grain, and the minds of all were restless. Neglecting to secure the grain in their fields they showed a particular solicitude to procure carts, and as the army of the enemy approached nearer and nearer, the people with their fears greatly excited removed farther and farther. When Lavaprasâda heard of the rapid advance of the innumerable host of the Yâdava prince, he knit his brow in anger, and though he had but a small army, proceeded with it to meet that of the enemy, which was vastly superior. When the forces of Siṅghapa arrived on the banks of the Tâpî he rapidly advanced to the Mahi. Seeing, on the one hand, the vast army of the enemy and, on the other, the indomitable prowess of the Chaulukya force, the people were full of doubt and could not foresee the result. The enemy burnt villages on their way, and the volume of smoke that rose up in the air showed the position of their camp to the terrified people and enabled them to direct their movements accordingly. The Yâdavas overran the country about Bharoch while the plentiful crops were still standing in the fields; but the king of Gujarât did not consider them unconquerable."¹ In the mean while, however, four kings of Mârvâd rose against Lavaprasâda and his son Viradhavala, and the chiefs of Godhrâ and Lâla, who had united their forces with theirs, abandoned them and joined the Mârvâd princes. In these circumstances Lavaprasâda suddenly stopped his march and turned backwards.² The Yâdava army, however, did not, according to Someśvara, advance farther; but he gives no reason whatever, observing only that "deer do not follow a lion's path even when he has left it."³ But if the invasion spread such terror over the country as Someśvara himself represents, and the army of Siṅghapa was so large, it is impossible to conceive how it could have ceased to advance when the Gûrjara prince retreated, unless he had agreed to pay a tribute or satisfied the Yâdava commander in some other way. In a manuscript discovered some years ago of a work containing forms of letters, deeds, patents, &c., there is a specimen of a treaty with the names of Siṅghapa and Lavaprasâda as parties to it, from which it appears that a treaty of that nature must actually have been concluded between them.⁴ The result of the expedition,

¹ *Kîrttikaumudî* IV., stanzas 43-53.² *Ib.*, st. 55-60.³ *Ib.*, st. 63.⁴ This work is entitled *Lekhapañchâśikâ*, and the manuscript was purchased by me for Government in 1883. The first leaf is wanting and the colophon does not contain the name of the author. The manuscript, however, is more than four hundred years old, being transcribed in 1536 of the Vîkrâma Samvat. For the variable terms

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therefore, was that Lavanyaprasāda had to submit and conclude a treaty of alliance with Siṅghapa.

Second Invasion.

This invasion of Gajarāt must have been one of the earlier ones alluded to in the Āmbhī inscription, and Kholeśvara himself must have been the commander of the Yālava army on the occasion. For Lavanyaprasāda is said to have declared himself independent of his original master Bhīma II. of Anahilapattana about the year 1276 Vikrama,¹ corresponding to 1141 S'aka, which was about the ninth or tenth year of Siṅghapa's reign, and the work in which the treaty mentioned above occurs was composed in 1288 Vikrama, i. e. 1153 Saka. But the expedition under the command of Rāma, the son of Kholeśvara, must have been sent a short time before Saka 1160, the date of the Āmbhī inscription. For Rāma's son is represented to have been a minor under the guardianship of that chief's sister Lakshmi, who governed the principality in the name of the boy. Rāma, therefore, had not died so many years before Saka 1160 as to allow of his boy having attained his majority by that time. On the occasion of this expedition Visaladeva, the son of Virādhavala, was the sovereign of Gujārāt. For in an inscription of his he boasts

in the forms given by the author, he often uses the usual expression *anuka*, meaning 'some one' or 'such a one.' This general expression, however, is not used to indicate the date, and we have in all the forms one date, viz. 15 Sudī of Vaiśākha, in the year of Vikrama 1288, except in one case where it is the 3rd Sudī. This probably was the date when the author wrote. Similarly, when giving the form of a grant inscribed on copper plates, the author in order probably to make the form clear, uses real and spoken names. He gives the genealogy of the Chalukya kings of Anahilapattana from Mahārāja to Bhīma II. and then introduces Lavanyaprasāda, whom he calls Lavanyaprasāda and styles a Mahāmandalesvara, as the prince making the grant. Similarly, in giving the form of a treaty of alliance called *gamahapatra*, the persons who are introduced as parties to it are Siṅghapa and Lavanyaprasāda and the form runs thus —

संवत् १२८८ वर्षे वैशाखशुदि १५ सोमेऽवेह श्रमद्विजयकटके महाराजाधिराजश्री-
मत्सिंहदेवस्य महामण्डलेश्वरराजश्रीलावण्यप्रसादस्य च । स राजासाम्राज्यं or
सम्राट् । कुलश्रीमत्सिंहदेवेन महामण्डलेश्वरराजश्रीलावण्यप्रसादेन पूर्वैकआत्मीय
२ (i.e. आत्मीय again) देशेषु रहणीयं । केनापि कस्यापि भूमि नाक्रमणीया ।

"On this day the 15th Sudī of Vaiśākha, in the year Samvat 1288, in the Camp of Victory, [a treaty] between the paramount king of kings, the prosperous Siṅghapa and the Mahāmandalesvara Rājaka, the prosperous Lavanyaprasāda Siṅghapa whose patrimony is paramount sovereignty, and the Mahāmandalesvara Rājaka the prosperous Lavanyaprasāda should according to former usage confine themselves, each to his own country; neither should invade the country of the other."

The treaty then provides that when either of them is taken up by an enemy, the armies of both should march to his release, that if a prince from either country run away into the other with some valuable things, he should not be allowed quarter, &c. Now, it is extremely unlikely that the author of the work should introduce these persons in his form unless he had seen or heard of such a treaty between them. Siṅghapa is but another form of Siṅghapa, and he is spoken of as a paramount sovereign. The treaty, it will be seen, was concluded in the "victorious camp," which is a clear reference to the invasion described by Śomeśvara.

In रहणीयं we have, I think, the vernacular root रह् "to remain," "to live." For further details see my Report on the search for manuscripts during 1882-83, pp. 39 and 225.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI, p. 130.

of his having been "the submarine fire that dried up the ocean of Singhaya's army,"¹ and he must have succeeded his father about the year 1292 Vikrama corresponding to Saka 1157,² though he obtained possession of the throne at Anahilapattana in Vikrama 1302, corresponding to Saka 1167 and 1246 A.D. The foundation of his boast was probably the fact of Rāma's having been killed in the battle. What the ultimate result was, however, the inscription does not inform us.

Singhaya appointed one Bichana or Bicha, the son of Chikka and younger brother of Malla, to be governor of the southern provinces and his viceroy there. He fought with his master's enemies in the south as Kholesvara did in the north and kept them in check. Bichana is represented to have humbled the Rattas who were petty feudatories in the Southern Marāṭhā Country, the Kadambas of Konkau, i. e. of Goa, the Guttas sprung from the ancient Guptas, who held a principality in the south, the Pāndyas, the Hoysalas, and the chiefs of other southern provinces, and to have erected a triumphal column on the banks of the Kāveri.³ The date of the grant in which all this is recorded is Saka 1160 or A.D. 1238.

It thus appears that the Yādava empire became in the time of Singhaya as extensive as that ruled over by the ablest monarchs of the preceding dynasties. The full titles of a paramount sovereign are given to Singhaya in his inscriptions, such as "the support of the whole world," "the lover of the earth (*Prithivīkalabha*)," and "king of kings." Since Krishna, the eighth incarnation of Vishnu, is represented in the Purāṇas to have belonged to the Yādava family, the princes of Devagiri called themselves *Vishvapramāṇodbhava*,⁴ and as Krishna and his immediate descendants reigned at Drākṣā, they assumed the title of *Drāvastipuravādhiśvara*, "the supreme lord of Drāvastī, the best of cities."⁵ In the reign of Singhaya as well as of his two predecessors the office of chief secretary or *Srikarandhīpa*, which in a subsequent reign was conferred on Hemāñtri, was held by a man of the name of Sodhala. He was the son of Bhāskara, a native of Kaśmir who had settled in the Dekkan. Sodhala's son Śārngadhara wrote in this reign a treatise on music entitled *Samgitaratnākara* which is extant.⁶ There is a commentary

Section XV.

Conquests in
the South.

Singhaya's
titles.

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., pp. 191 and 212.

² Viradhavala, it is said, died not long before Vastupāla. The death of the latter took place in Vikrama 1297. Vastupāla was minister to Visaladeva also for some time. We might, therefore, refer the accession of the latter to Vikrama 1292. Ind. Ant., Vol. VI., p. 190.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XV., pp. 386-7, and Vol. XII., p. 43.

⁴ i. e. "of the race of Vishnu."

⁵ Graham's Report, Ins. No. 10, and Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 7.

⁶ तस्यभूतनयः प्रभूतविनयः श्रीसोदलः पीठधीरेण श्रीकरणप्रवृद्धविभवं भूतज्ञं भिह्व-
मम् । आराध्यासिल्लोकेशोकाशमनी कीर्तिः समासादिता जैत्रे जैत्रपदं न्यायाय महती श्रीसि-
ङ्गे श्रीसि ॥ Then follows one verse in praise of Singhaya and two in praise of

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on this work attributed to a king of the name of Siṅga who is represented as a paramount sovereign of the Andhra circle. This Siṅga appears in all likelihood to be Siṅghana; and the commentary was either written by him or dedicated to him by a dependant, as is often the case.¹ Chāṅgadeva, the grandson of Bhāṣkarāchārya and son of Lakshmiditya, was chief astrologer to Siṅghana; and also Anantadeva, the grandson of Bhāṣkarāchārya's brother Śīpati and son of Gaṇapati. Chāṅgadeva founded a Maṭha or college for the study of his grandfather's Siddhāntasīromani and other works at Pāṭṇā in the Chāḷisgamv division of the Khāṇdes district, and Anantadeva built a temple at a village in the same division and dedicated it to Bhavāni on the 1st of Chaitra in the Śaka year 1144 *expired*.²

Jaitrapāla,
Siṅghana's son,
died before him.

Siṅghana's son was Jaitugi or Jaitrapāla, who "was the abode of all arts, and was thus the very moon in opposition, full of all the digits, that had come down to the earth, to protect it. He was death to hostile kings and firm in unequal fights."³ But if he protected the earth at all he must have done so during the lifetime of his father as *Yacardya*, for the latest date of Siṅghana is Śaka 1169, and in a copper-plate inscription of his grandson and Jaitugi's son Kṛishṇa, Śaka 1175, *Pratāpī-Samvatsara*, is stated to be the seventh of his reign, so that Kṛishṇa began to reign in Śaka 1163 corresponding to 1247 A.D.⁴ And in the longer of the two historical introductions to the *Vṛatakhaṇḍa*, Jaitugi is not mentioned at all. After Siṅghana, we are told that his grandsons Kṛishṇa and Mahādeva came to the throne, of whom the elder Kṛishṇa reigned first.⁵ Kṛishṇa's Prakṛit name was Kanhāra, Kanhara, or Kandhāra. He is represented to have been the terror of the kings of Mālava, Gujārāt, and Konkan, to have "established the king of Teluṅga," and to have been the sovereign of the country of the Chola king.⁶ In the *Vṛatakhaṇḍa* also he is said to have destroyed the army of Viśala, who we know was sovereign of Gujārāt at this time and who had been at war with Siṅghana, and, in general terms, to have "conquered a great many enemies in bloody battles in which numbers of horses and elephants were engaged, reduced some to captivity and compelled others to seek refuge in forests, and, having thus finished the work of vanquishing the series of earthly kings, to have marched to the heavenly world to conquer Indra."⁷ Laksh-

Kṛishṇa.

Saṁhala in which he is represented to have pleased Siṅghana by his merits and to have conferred benefits on all through the wealth and influence thus acquired; and then we have तत्प्राप्तुधाम्बुधेजीतः शार्ङ्गदेवः सुवाकर । उपयुपरि सर्वान्धः सदोदारः स्फुर-
त्करः ॥ Introduction to *Saṁgittaratnākara*, No. 979, Collection of 1867.-91, Dekk. Coll.
इति श्रीमदनविनोदधीकरणाधिपतिश्रीसाटलनन्दननिःशङ्कश्रीशार्ङ्गदेवविरचिते संगीतरत्नाकरे
प्रकीर्णकाध्यायरत्नोत्तयः समाप्तः fol. 122a.

¹ My Report on MSS. for 1882-83, pp. 37, 38 and 232.

² Jour. R. A. S., Vol. I., N.S., p. 415, and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III., p. 113.

³ Appendix C. II., st. 7.

⁴ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 42.

⁵ Appendix C. I., st. 45.

⁶ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 38.

⁷ That is, "left this world," "died", Appendix C. II., st. 11.

midēva, son of Janārdana, is represented by his wise counsels to have helped Krishṇa to consolidate his power and to have by his sword subdued his enemies.¹ Krishṇa performed a great many sacrifices and thus "brought fresh strength to the Vedic ceremonial religion which in the course of time had lost its hold over the people." In a copper-plate grant dated Saka 1171, found in the Belgaum Tāluka, Mallā or Mallisēṭṭi is spoken of as the elder brother of Bīcha or Bīchapa, the viceroy of Siinghapa in the south, and was himself governor of the province of Kuhunḍi. He lived at Mudugala, probably the modern Mudgala, and gave, by the consent of Krishṇa, his sovereign, lands in the village of Bāgevādi to thirty-two Brāhmanas of different Gotras.² Among the family names of these it is interesting to observe some borne by modern Mahārāshṭra Brāhmanas, such as *Paṭavaradhana* and *Ghaṇḍava*, prevalent among Chitpāvanas, and *Ghaṇḍisa*, *Ghaṇḍisa*, and *Pāṭhuka*, among Desasthas. The name *Trisēdi* also occurs; but there is no trace of it among Marāṭhā Brāhmanas, while it is borne by Brāhmanas in Gujarāt and Upper Hindustan. In another grant, Chaunḍa the son of Bīchapa, who succeeded to the office and title of his father, is represented to have personally solicited king Krishṇa at Devagiri to permit him to grant the village mentioned therein.³ Jahlāva, son of Lakshmidēva who had succeeded his father, assisted Krishṇa diligently by his counsels in conjunction with his younger brother. He was commander of the troops of elephants and as such fought with Krishṇa's enemies. He compiled an anthology of select verses from Sanskrit poets, called *Sūktimuktāvali*, which is extant.⁴ The *Vedānta-kalpataru*, which is a commentary on Vāchaspathiśāstra's *Bhāmati*

¹ Intr. Jahl. Suk. :—

विश्वनाथपरायणः स्फुरद्गुह्यस्वर्णचित्तायित्रज-

स्तस्माद्भुतविक्रमः समभवच्छीलदिग्देवः सुधीः ।

मन्त्रैर्निर्जितदेवमन्त्रिधिषणैर्जीमनयप्रक्रमै

राज्यं कृष्णमहीपतेरविकलं दत्त्वा स्थिरं योऽन्यथा ॥ २१ ॥

अगस्त्य इव यस्यासिन्धुचिन्तश्रितिश्रुद्धयौ ।

वित्रं सोऽप्यकरोन्न्यस्त्रकबन्धसमाराणम् ॥ २२ ॥

² Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 27. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII., 304. Kphunḍi corresponds to a part of the modern Belgaum district.

³ Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XII., p. 43.

⁴ Intr. Jahl. Suk. :—

तस्यास्तेऽनयो नयोदधिविधुर्वन्धुर्वधानां सुधीः

सारासारविचारणसु चतुरः श्रीजह्णवास्याः धिती ॥ २६ ॥

मत्पित्रा दत्तमस्मै प्रतिहतबलवद्दुषि सर्गोपसर्ग

राज्यं प्राज्यप्रभावप्रयित्युगृह्णता कृष्णराजाय भक्त्या ।

तन्निर्वाहं मयेति द्विगुणितधिषणाशक्तिभक्तिवैद्यते

सर्वे यः स्थाधि (मि) कायि हितमनयहता यावुकेनांजुजेन ॥ २७ ॥

ध्रुवं यस्यास्ति हस्ताब्जे मदान्धा करिवाहिनी ।

दानोदकप्रवाहीन दश्यते कथमन्यथा ॥ २८ ॥

Section XV.

Mahādeva.

which itself is a commentary on Śaṅkarācārya's Vedāntasūtra-bhāṣya, was written by Amalananda in the reign of Krishṇa.¹

Krishṇa was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva in 1182 Śaka or 1260 A.D. "He was a tempestuous wind that blew away the heap of cotton in the shape of the king of the Tailāṅga country, the prowess of his arm was like a thunderbolt that shattered the mountain in the shape of the pride of the swaggering Gūjara, he destroyed the king of Konkan with ease, and reduced the arrogant sovereigns of Karpāta and Lāṭa to mockery."² The Gūjara here mentioned must be Viśaladeva noticed above, as Mahādeva is represented in the Paṭṭhaṇ grant to have vanquished him;³ and the king of Karpāta was probably a Hoysala Yādava of Halebid. "King Mahādeva never killed a woman, a child, or one who submitted to him; knowing this and being greatly afraid of him, the Andhras placed a woman on the throne; and the king of Mālava also for the same reason installed a child in his position, and forthwith renouncing all his possessions practised false penance for a long time. He took away in battle the elephants and the five musical instruments of the ruler of Tailāṅga, but left the ruler Rudranā as he refrained from killing a woman."⁴ In a work on Poetics called Pratyāparudrīya by Vidyānātha there occurs a specimen of a dramatic play in which Gaṇapati of the Kākatiya dynasty, the same prince who is represented in the Paṭṭhaṇ grant to have been released from confinement by Jaitugi, is mentioned as having left his throne to his daughter, whom, however, he called his son and named Rudra, and who is spoken of as "a king" and not queen. She adopted Pratyāparudra, the son of her daughter, as her heir. This, therefore, was the woman spoken of above as Rudranā and as having been placed on the throne by the Andhras.⁵ "Soma, the lord of Konkan, though skilled in swimming in the sea, was together with his forces drowned in the rivers formed by the humour trickling from the temples of Mahādeva's maddened elephants." "Mahādeva deprived Someśvara of his kingdom and his life."⁶ We have seen that Krishṇa fought with the king of Konkan, but it appears he did not subjugate the country thoroughly. His successor Mahādeva, however, again invaded it with an army consisting of a large number of elephants.

Conquest
of Northern
Konkan.

तेनेयं क्रियते वीक्ष्य सत्समापितममहात् ।

सुक्तिमुक्तावलीकण्टकन्दलीमूर्ध्नि सताम् ॥ ३८ ॥

¹ Transactions Ninth Congress of Orientalists, Vol. I, p. 4th 3.

² Appendix C. I., st. 48, and II., st. 13.

³ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 316.

⁴ Appendix C. I., st. 52, and II., st. 14 and 15.

⁵ एवमेतत् । अन्यथा कथमाश्रमसादादते निरुद्धं स्वव्यक्तिविशेषस्य लोकाधिपत्यम् । एवं

मातृपुत्रशत्रुना गणपतिमहापुजेनाम्यन्तरस्यानुभावस्य सदशमश्च पुत्र इति व्यवहारः कृतस्तदनुगुणं च ह्येत्याख्या । Poona lithographed edition of Śaka 1771, fol. 29. See also Dr.

Multzsch's paper, Ind. Ant., Vol. XXI., pp. 198, 199.

⁶ Appendix C. I. st. 49, 50, and II., st. 17.

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Soma or Someśvara was completely defeated on land and his power broken, whereupon he appears to have betaken himself to his ships. There somehow he met with his death,¹ probably by being drowned, for it is said that "even the sea did not protect him" and that "he betook himself to the submarine fire," thinking the fire of Malādeva's prowess to be more unbearable.² Konkau was thereupon annexed to the territories of the Yālavas. Hence it is that the country was governed by a viceroy appointed by the Devagiri king during the time of Mahādeva's successor, as we find from the Thānā plates published by Mr. Watphen.³ The Someśvara whom Mahādeva subdued belonged to the Silāhāra dynasty of Thānā that had been ruling over that part of Konkau for a considerable period. He is the last prince of the dynasty whose inscriptions are found in the district, and his dates are Śaka 1171 and 1182.⁴ Mahādeva like his predecessors reigned at Devagiri, which is represented as the capital of the dynasty to which he belonged and as situated in the country called Seuna on the borders of Daudakāraṇya. "It was the abode of the essence of the beauty of the three worlds and its houses rivalled the peaks of the mountain tenanted by gods, and the Seuna country deserved all the sweet and ornamental epithets that might be applied to it."⁵ At Paṇḍharpur there is an inscription dated 1192 Śaka, *Pramoda Samrāsura*, in which Mahādeva is represented to have been reigning at the time. He is there called *Praudhapratīpa Chakravartin*, or "Paramount sovereign possessing great valour." The inscription records the performance of an *Aptorydina* sacrifice by a Brāhman chief of the name of Kesava belonging to the Kaśyapa Gotra.

The immediate successor of Mahādeva was Āmava⁶ who appears to have been his son; but the sovereign power was soon wrested from his hands by the rightful heir Rāmachandra, son of Kṛṣṇa, who ascended the throne in 1193 Śaka or 1271 A.D. He is called Rāmadeva or Rāmarāja also. In the Thānā copper-plate grants he is spoken of as "a lion to the proud elephant in the shape of the lord of Mālava," from which it would appear that he was at war with that country. He is also called "the elephant that tore up by the root the tree in the shape of the Tailaṅga king." This must be an allusion to his wars with Pratāparudra the successor of Rudramā, which are mentioned in the work noticed above. Several other epithets occur in the grants; but they are given as mere *virūdas* or titles which were inherited by Rāmachandra from his predecessors, and do not point to any specific events in his reign. His inscriptions are found as far to the south as the confines of Maisur, so that the empire

Rāmachandra
or Rāmadeva.

¹ Appendix C. I., st. 49.

² *Ib.* I., st. 51, and II., st. 18.

³ *Jour. B. A. S.* (old series), Vol. V., p. 177.

⁴ *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XIII., Part II., p. 423.

⁵ Appendix C. II., st. 19 and 20. "The mountain tenanted by gods" may be the Himālaya or Mera. In this epithet there is a reference to the etymology of Devagiri which means "a mountain of or having gods."

⁶ *Paṭṭaṇ grant*, Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV., p. 317.

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he ruled over was as large as it ever was. There is in the Dekkan College Library a manuscript of the Amarakosa written in Konkani on Tāla leaves during his reign in the year 4398 of the Kaliyuga corresponding to Saka 1219 and A.D. 1297. His viceroy in Konkani in Saka 1212 was a Brāhman named Kṛishṇa belonging to the Bhāradvāja Gotra, whose grandfather Padmanābha first acquired royal favour and rose into importance in the reign of Singhana. One of the Thānā grants was issued by him, and the other dated 1194 Saka by Achyuta Nāyaka, who was also a Brāhman and who appears to have been a petty chief and held some office which is not stated. Where he resided is also not clear. By the Paithan copper-plate charter, which was issued in Saka 1193, Rāmachandra assigned three villages to fifty-seven Brāhmanas on conditions some of which are rather interesting. The Brāhmanas and their descendants were to live in those villages, not to mortgage the land, allow no prostitutes to settle there, prevent gambling, use no weapons, and spend their time in doing good deeds.¹

Hemādri,
the minister of
Mahādeva and
Rāmādeva.

Hemādri, the celebrated author, principally of works on Dharmaśāstra, flourished during the reigns of Mahādeva and Rāmachandra and was minister to both. In the introduction to his works on Dharmaśāstra he is called Mahādeva's *Srīkaraṇādhipa* or *Srīkaraṇaprabhu*. In the Thānā copper-plate of 1194 Saka also, he is said to have taken upon himself the *ādhipatya* or controllership of all *kāraṇa*. This office seems to have been that of chief secretary or one who wrote and issued all orders on behalf of his master and kept the state record. Hemādri is also called *Mantrin* or counsellor generally. In his other works and in the Thānā plate Rāmārāja instead of Mahādeva is represented as his master. Mahādeva's genealogy and his own are given at the beginning of his works on Dharma. Sometimes the former begins with Singhana, sometimes with Bhīlana, while in the Dānakhaṇḍa the exploits of Mahādeva alone are enumerated. The description of the several princes is often couched in general terms and consists of nothing but eulogy. But the Vratākhaṇḍa, which was the first work composed by Hemādri, contains, as we have seen, a very valuable account of the dynasty from the very beginning, and by far the greater portion of it is undoubtedly historical.

Hemādri's
Works.

Hemādri was a Brāhman of the Vatsa Gotra. His father's name was Kāmādeva, grandfather's, Vāsudeva, and great-grandfather's, Vāmana.² He is described in terms of extravagant praise; and the historical truth that may be gleaned from it appears to be this. Hemādri was very liberal to Brāhmanas and fed numbers of them every day. He was a man of learning himself, and learned men found a generous patron in him. He is represented to be religious and pious, and at the same time very brave. He evidently possessed a great deal of influence. Whether the voluminous works attributed to him were really written by him may well be questioned; but the

¹ Ind. Ant., Vol. XIV, p. 319.

² Periseshabhaṇḍa, Ed. Bib. Ind., pp. 4-5.

idea at least of reducing the religious practices and observances that had descended from times immemorial to a system must certainly have been his, and must have been carried out under his supervision.

His great work is called the *Chaturvarga Chintāmaṇi*, which is divided into four parts, viz., (1) *Vratākhaṇḍa*, containing an exposition of the religious fasts and observances; (2) *Dānakhaṇḍa*, in which the several gifts to which great religious importance is attached are explained; (3) *Tīrthākhaṇḍa*, which treats of pilgrimages to holy places; and (4) *Mokṣākhaṇḍa*, in which the way to final deliverance is set forth. There is a fifth *Khanda* or part which is called *Parīśhakhaṇḍa* or appendix, which contains voluminous treatises on (1) the deities that should be worshipped, (2) on *Srāddhas* or offerings to the manes, (3) on the determination of the proper times and seasons for the performance of religious rites, and (4) on *Prāyaścitta* or atonement. All these works are replete with a great deal of information and innumerable quotations. They are held in great estimation, and future writers on the same subjects draw largely from them. A commentary called *Āyurvedarasāyana* on a medical treatise by Vāgbhata and another on Bopadeva's *Muktāphala*, a work expounding Vaishṇava doctrines, are also attributed to him.

This Bopadeva was one of Hemādri's proteges and the author of the work mentioned above and of another entitled *Harilīlā*, which contains an abstract of the *Bhāgavata*. Both of these were written at the request of Hemādri as the author himself tells us.¹ Bopadeva was the son of a physician named Keśava and the pupil of Dhaneśa. His father as well as his teacher lived at a place called Sārtha situated on the banks of the Varadā. Bopadeva, therefore, was a native of Berār. Bopadeva, the author of a treatise on grammar called *Mugdhaśloka*, appears to be the same person as this, since the names of the father and the teacher there mentioned are the same as those we find in these works. A few medical treatises also, written by Bopadeva, have come down to us.

Hemādri has not yet been forgotten in the Marāṭhā country. He is popularly known by the name of Hemādpant and old temples throughout the country of a certain structure are attributed to him. He is said to have introduced the *Modi* or the current form of writing and is believed to have brought it from Laṅkā or Ceylon. As chief secretary he had to superintend the writing of official papers and records, and it is possible he may have introduced some improvements in the mode of writing.

The great Marāṭhā *sādhu* or saint Jñāneśvara or Dnyāneśvara as his name is ordinarily pronounced, flourished during the reign of

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Chaturvarga
Chintāmaṇi.

Other works.

Bopadeva.

Hemādpant of
the Marāṭhās.

Jñāneśvara, the
Marāṭhā sādhu.

विद्वद्भनेशशिष्येण भिषकेशवसूनुना । हेमाद्रिर्बोपदेवेन मुक्ताफलमचीकृतम् ॥
श्रीमद्भगवत्स्कन्धाध्यायाध्यायिनिरूप्यते । विदुषा बोपदेवेन मन्त्रिहेमाद्रिनुदये ॥

Dr. RAJENDRALAL's notices of *Sk.* MSS., Vol. II., pp. 48 and 200.

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Rāmachandra. At the end of his Marāṭhī commentary on the Bhagavadgītā he tells us: "In the Kali age, in the country of Mahārāshtra and on the southern bank of the Godāvari, there is a sacred place five kos in circuit, the holiest in the three worlds, where exists Mahālayā, who is the thread that sustains the life of the world. There, king Rāmachandra, a scion of the Yadu race and the abode of all arts, dispenses justice, and there a vernacular garb was prepared for the Gītā by Jñānadeva, the son of Nivṛttinātha, sprung from the family of Maheśa."¹ The date of the completion of the work is given as Śaka 1212 or A. D. 1290, when we know Rāmachandra was on the throne.

Conquest of the
country by the
Mussalmans.

Rāmachandra was the last of the independent Hindu sovereigns of the Dekkan. The Mussalmans had been firmly established at Delhi for about a century, and though they had not yet turned their attention to the Dekkan it was not possible they should refrain from doing so for a long time. Alla-ud-din Khilji, the nephew of the reigning king, who had been appointed governor of Kara, was a person of a bold and adventurous spirit. In the year 1291 A.D. or Śaka 1216 he collected a small army of 8000 men and marched straight to the south till he reached Ellichpur, and then suddenly turning to the west appeared in a short time before Devagiri. The king never expected such an attack and was consequently unprepared to resist it. According to one account he was even absent from his capital. He hastily collected about 4000 troops, and threw himself between the city and the invading army. But being aware he could not hold out for a long time, he took measures for provisioning the fort and retired into it. The city was then taken by the Mahomdans and plundered, and the fort was closely invested. Alla-ud-din had taken care to spread a report that his troops were but the advanced guard of the army of the king which was on its way to the Dekkan. Rāmachandra, therefore, despairing of a successful resistance, began to treat for peace. Alla-ud-din, who was conscious of his own weakness, received his proposals with gladness and agreed to raise the siege and retire on condition of receiving from the king a large quantity of gold. In the meantime, Rāmachandra's son Saṁkara collected a large army and was marching to the relief of the fort, when Alla-ud-din left about a thousand men to continue the siege and proceeded

1

ऐसे युधि परि कर्छी । आणि महाराष्ट्रमंडळी ।

श्रीमोदावरीच्या कृच्छी । दक्षिणली ॥ १ ॥

त्रिभुवनैकपवित्र । अनादि पंचक्रोशश्रेष्ठ ।

जेथ जगाचे जीवनसूत्र । श्रीमहालया असे ॥ २ ॥

तेथ यदवंशविलास । जो सकळकळानिवास ।

न्यायार्ते पोषी क्षितीश । श्रीरामचंद्र ॥ ३ ॥

तेथ महेशान्वयसंभूत । श्रीनिशुचिनाथसूत ।

केले ज्ञानदेव गीते । देशीकार लेणें ॥ ४ ॥

with the rest to a short distance from the town and gave battle to Sainkara's forces. The Hindus were numerically superior and forced the Mahomedans to fall back; but the detachment left to observe the movements of the garrison joined them at this time, and Sainkara's followers thinking it to be the main army that was on its way from Delhi were seized with a panic, and a confusion ensued which resulted in the complete defeat of the Hindus.

Râmachandra or Râmadeva then continued the negotiations, but Alla-ud-din raised his demands. The Hindu king's allies were preparing to march to his assistance, but in the meanwhile Râmachandra discovered that the sacks of grain that had been hastily thrown into the fort really contained salt; and since the provisions had been well nigh exhausted he was anxious to hasten the conclusion of peace. It was therefore agreed that he should pay to Alla-ud-din "600 maunds of pearls, two of jewels, 1000 of silver, 4000 pieces of silk, and other precious things," cede Ellichpur and its dependencies, and send an annual tribute to Delhi. On the receipt of the valuable treasure given to him by the Devagiri prince Alla-ud-din retired.

Some time after, Alla-ud-din assassinated his aged uncle and usurped the throne. King Râmachandra did not send the tribute for several years, and to punish him the Delhi monarch despatched an expedition of 30,000 horse under the command of Malik Kafur, a slave who had risen high in his favour. Malik Kafur accomplished the long and difficult march "over stones and hills without drawing rein," and arrived at Devagiri in March 1307 A.D., or about the end of Śaka 1228. A fight ensued in which the Hindus were defeated and Râmadeva was taken prisoner.¹ According to another account, Malik Kafur came laying waste the country about Devagiri, and the Hindu king observing the futility of resistance surrendered himself. Râmachandra was sent to Delhi, where he was detained for six months and afterwards released with all honour. Thenceforward he sent the tribute regularly and remained faithful to the Mahomedans. In Śaka 1231 or A.D. 1309, Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan to subdue Tulaṅgana. On the way he stopped at Devagiri, where he was hospitably entertained by the king.

Râmadeva died this year and was succeeded by his son Sainkara. He discontinued sending the annual tribute to Delhi and Malik Kafur was again sent to the Dekkan in Śaka 1234 or A.D. 1312 to reduce him to submission. He put Sainkara to death, laid waste his kingdom, and fixed his residence at Devagiri.

In the latter years of Alla-ud-din his nobles, disgusted with the overwhelming influence which Malik Kafur had acquired over him, revolted. In the meantime Alla-ud-din died and was succeeded by his third son Mubarik. The opportunity was seized

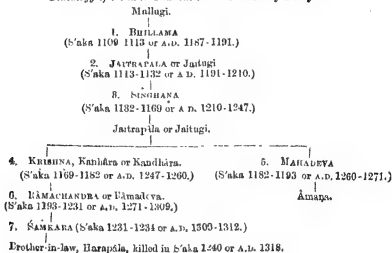
¹ Elliot's History of India, Vol. III., p. 77.

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by Harapāla, the son-in-law of Rāmachandra, who raised an insurrection and drove away some of the Mahomedan governors. In 1240 Śaka or A.D. 1318 Mubarik marched to the Dekkan in person to suppress the revolt. He took Harapāla prisoner and inhumanly flayed him alive.

Thus ended the last Hindu or Maṭāthā monarchy of the Dekkan, and the country became a province of the Mahomedan empire.

Genealogy of the later Yādavas or the Yādavas of Devagiri.



SECTION XVI.

THE ŚILĀHĀRAS OF KOLHĀPUR.

THREE distinct families of chiefs or minor princes with the name of Śilāra or Śilāhāra ruled over different parts of the country. They all traced their origin to Jimūtavāhana the son of Jimūtakeṭu, who was the king of a certain class of demigods called Vidyādhāras, and who saved the life of a serpent named Śankhachūda by offering himself as a victim to Garuḍa in his place.¹ One of the titles borne by the princes of all the three families was *Tagarapuravarādhiśvara* or "lords of Tagara, the best of cities," which fact has a historical significance. We have seen that Kāmvaḍa, the donor of the Rājāpur grant who was a Chālukya, called himself *Kalyānapuravarādhiśvara*, and one of the titles of the later Kadambas after they had been reduced to vassalage and of the rulers of Goa was *Banavāsipuravarādhiśvara*. As these titles signify that the bearers of them belonged to the families that once held supreme power at Kalyāna and Banavāsi, so does *Tagarapuravarādhiśvara* show that the Śilāhāras who bore the title belonged to a family that once possessed supreme sovereignty and reigned at Tagara. In one Śilāhāra grant it is expressly stated that "the race known by the name of Śilāhāra was that of the kings who were masters of Tagara."² As mentioned in a former section, Tagara was a famous town in the early centuries of the Christian era and retained its importance till a very late period, but unfortunately the town has not yet been identified, nor have we found any trace of the Śilāhāra kingdom with Tagara as its capital. Perhaps it existed between the close of the Andhra-bhṛitya period and the foundation of the Chālukya power.

The three Śilāhāra dynasties of Mahāmāndaleśvaras or dependent princes which we have been considering were founded in the times of the Rāshṭrakūṭas. One of them ruled over Northern Konkan, which was composed of fourteen hundred villages, the chief of them being Puri, which probably was at one time the capital of the province. As represented in an inscription at Kānheri noticed before, Konkan was assigned to Pullaśakti by Amoghavarsha a few years before Śaka 775. Another Śilāhāra family established itself in Southern Konkan. The founder or first chief named Śaṇaphulla enjoying the favour of Kṛishṇarāja acquired the territory between the sea-coast and the Sahya range.³ There were three Rāshṭrakūṭa princes of the name of Kṛishṇarāja but the one meant here must be the first prince of that name who reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century of the Śaka era

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Three branches
of the Śilāhāra
family.

Tagara, the
original seat of
the family.

The North
Konkan branch.

The South
Konkan branch.

¹ This story has been dramatized in the Sanskrit play *Nāgānanda* attributed to S'ri-Harsha.

² Grant translated by Dr. Taylor and published in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. III. शिलाहाराख्यवंशीयं तगरेखरमुद्धताम् ।

³ Khārepatān plates, Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. I., p. 217. The name of the first chief is read "Jhāllaphulla" by Bāl Gangādhara Śāstrī; but the first letter looks like स though there is some difference. That difference, however, brings it nearer to श. The letter which was read by him as ङ is clearly ण. For देससंभावने I find देससंसावने on the plates.

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or between 753 and 775 A.D.¹ The genealogy of this dynasty is given in the Khārepātān grant, the last prince mentioned in which was on the throne in Ś'aka 930 while the Chālukya king Satyāśraya was reigning. The capital must have been situated somewhere near Khārepātān.

The Kolhāpur
branch.

Jatiga,
the founder.

The third Śilāhāra family the history of which falls within the scope of this paper ruled over the districts of Kolhāpur, Miraj, and Karhād, and in later times Southern Konkan was added to its territory. This dynasty was the latest of the three and was founded about the time of the downfall of the Rāshtrakūṭa empire, as will be hereafter shown. The first prince of the family was Jatiga, who was succeeded by his son Nāyinnia or Nāyivannan. Nāyinnia was followed by his son Chandrarāja, and Chandrarāja by his son Jatiga, who is called "the lion of the hill-fortress of Panhālā."² Jatiga's son and successor was Gomka, otherwise called Gomkala or Gokalla. He is represented to have been the ruler of the districts of Kara-hāṭa-Kundi³ and Mairiṇja and to have harassed Konkan. He had three brothers named Gūvala, Kirtirāja, and Chandrāditya, of whom the first at least appears to have succeeded him. Then followed Mārasinhā the son of Gomka, whose grant first published by Wathen is dated Ś'aka 980. He is represented to have constructed temples: and to have been reigning at his capital, the fort of Khili-gili, which probably was another name of Panhālā in the Kolhāpur districts. Mārasinhā was succeeded by his son Gūvala and he by his brother Bhoja I. Bhoja's two brothers Ballāla and Gaṇḍarāditya governed the principality after him in succession.

An inscription at Kolhāpur mentions another brother named Gaṅgadeva and the order in which the brothers are spoken of is Gūvala

¹ From Śanaphulla the first chief to Itatta the last there are ten generations. Somehow each succeeding chief in this line happens to be the son of the preceding. Though in a line of princes some of whom bear to others the relation of brother or uncle, the average duration of each reign is from 19 to 21 years, the average duration of a generation is always much longer, and varies from 26 to 28 years. One can verify this by taking any line of princes or chiefs in the world. Itatta was on the throne in Ś'aka 930, and supposing him to have begun to reign about that time, nine generations or about 27×9 years must have passed away from the date of the foundation of the family to Ś'aka 930. Subtracting $27 \times 9 = 243$ from 930, we have Ś'aka 687 as the approximate date of Śanaphulla. If we take the average to be 26, we shall have 696 as the date. In either case we are brought to the reign of Krishna I. The dates of Krishna II range from Ś'aka 797 to 833 and of Krishna III. from Ś'aka 862 to 891, and therefore neither of these will do. Even if we take the other average of a reign in the present case and subtract $19 \times 9 = 171$ from 980, we get Ś'aka 759, which will not take us to the reign of Krishna II whose earliest date is Ś'aka 797. The Khārepātān family therefore was the oldest of the three, and was founded in the reign of Krishna I.

BāI Ś'āstrī read the name of the last chief in the grant as Rahu; but the second syllable of the name is certainly not ॠ the form of which in the grant itself is different. It looks exactly like the ॢ in the word वरमदारक and आवदनानि which occur elsewhere in the grant.

² See the grant of Gaṇḍarāditya published by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī in Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII., p. 2, of Mārasinhā in Jour. R. A. S., Vol. IV., p. 280, and Arch. Surv. W. I., No. 10, p. 102, and of Bhoja II. in Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom., Vol. III.

³ Mārasinhā's grant. Kundi or Kuhundi was some part of the Belgaum district, as stated before. Mairiṇja is Miraj.

Gaṅga, Ballāla, Bhoja, and Gaṇḍarāditya.¹ But the grants of Gaṇḍarāditya and Bhoja II. agree in representing Bhoja as the elder and Ballāla as the younger brother, and in omitting Gaṅga.

Of all these brothers the youngest Gaṇḍarāditya seems to have been the most famous. He is the donor, as indicated above, in the grant published by Pandit Bhagvānlāl Indrajī,² and in others recorded on stone at Kolhāpur and in the districts. His dates are Śaka 1032, 1040, 1058.³ He ruled over the country of Miriṇja along with the seven Khollas and over Konkan, which thus seems to have been subjugated by the Kolhāpur Ś'ilāhāras before 1032. Probably it was added to their dominions in the time of Goṅka or soon after. From the grant of Bhoja II. it appears that the part of Konkan ruled over by the Dekkan Ś'ilāhāras was the same as that which was in the possession of the family mentioned in the Khāre-pātan grant,⁴ wherefore it follows that the Ś'ilāhāras of southern Konkan were uprooted by their kinsmen of the Kolhapur districts. Gaṇḍarāditya fed a hundred thousand Brāhmanas at Prayāga. This must be the place of that name which is situated near Kolhāpur; and not the modern Allahābād. He built a Jaina temple at Ājareṇ, a village in the Kolhāpur districts,⁵ and constructed a large tank, called after him *Gaṇḍasamudra* or "the sea of Gaṇḍa," at Irakudi in the Miraj district, and on its margin placed idols of Īvara or Śiva, Buddha, and Arhat (Jina), for the maintenance of each of which he assigned a piece of land. Several other charities of his, in which the Jainas also had their share, are mentioned, and his bountiful nature as well as good and just government are extolled.⁶ He first resided at a place called Tiravāḍa and afterwards at Valavāṭa, which has been identified with the present Valavdem.⁷

Gaṇḍarāditya was succeeded by his son Vijayārka, who was on the throne in Śaka 1065 and 1073.⁸ He restored the chiefs of the territory about Thānā to their principality which they had lost, and replaced the princes of Goa on the throne and fortified their position which had become shaky.⁹ He assisted Vijjaṇa¹⁰ in his revolt against his masters, the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇa, and enabled him to acquire supreme sovereignty. This event, as we have seen, took place about 1079 Ś'aka.

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Gaṇḍarāditya.

Vijayārka.

¹ Inscription No. 4, Major Graham's Report.

² In *loc. cit.*

³ Bhagvānlāl's plates, and Inscriptions Nos. 1, 2, and 3, Major Graham's Report. The Ś'aka in Bhagvānlāl's grant and No. 1 of Major Graham's inscriptions is the same, i. e. 1032, though in the translation of the latter it is erroneously given as 1037, but the cyclic years are different. As to this see Appendix B.

⁴ For the village granted is Kaselī, which is near Jaitāpur and Khāropāṭaṇ.

⁵ Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

⁶ His grant in *loc. cit.*

⁷ Bhagvānlāl's plates and Major Graham's Ins. No. 2.

⁸ Ins. Nos. 4 and 5, Major Graham's Report.

⁹ Grant of Bhoja II. in *loc. cit.*

¹⁰ In the transcript of the inscription in Vol. IV Trans. Lit. Soc. Bom. we have Vtkahana for Vijjaṇa. There is no question this must be a mistake of the reader of the inscription or of the engraver. For the Kalachuri usurper at Kalyāṇa is called both Vijjala or Vijjaṇa in his inscriptions, and there was none who about the date of Vijayārka obtained the position of a Chakravartin or paramount sovereign, as stated in the inscription.

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Bhoja II.

After Vijayārka, his son Bhoja II. became Mahāmandaleśvara and reigned in the fort of Panhājā. His dates are Śaka 1101, 1109, 1112, 1113, 1114, and 1127.¹ He granted the village of Kaśēl in Konkan near Khārepāṭan on the application of his son Gaṇḍarāditya for feeding Brāhmanas regularly²; and gave lands for Hindu and Jaina temples in other places also. Two of the grantees in one case at Kolhāpur are called Karahātakas, which shows that the caste of Karhāde Brāhmanas had come to be recognized in those days; and two others bore the family name of *Ghaṇḍāsa*, which is now found among Chitpāvan Brāhmanas.³ In the reign of Bhoja II. a Jaina Paṇḍit of the name of Somadeva composed in Śaka 1127 a commentary entitled *Saḍāśīrnavachandrikā*⁴ on Pājyapāda's Sanskrit Grammar. The Kolhāpur chiefs enjoyed a sort of semi-independence. Vijjāna, the new sovereign at Kalyāna, however, endeavoured probably to establish his authority over Bhoja. But that chief was not content to be his feudatory, and to reduce him to subjection Vijjāna marched against Kolhāpur a little before his assassination in Śaka 1080.⁵ On the establishment of the power of the Devagiri Yālavas, Bhoja seems similarly to have assumed independence; but Siṅghana subdued him completely, and annexed the principality to the Yālava empire.⁶

Approximate
date of the
foundation of
the Kolhāpur
branch.

The number of generations from Jutiga, the founder of the dynasty, to Gaṇḍarāditya is seven. The latest date of the latter is Śaka 1058 and the earliest of his successor Vijayārka is 1065, so that if we suppose Gaṇḍarāditya to have died in 1060 and allow about 27 years to each generation, we shall arrive at Śaka 871 as the approximate date of the foundation of the family. At that time the reigning Rāshtrakūṭa sovereign was Kṛishṇa III., the uncle of Kakkala the last prince.

Religion of
the Kolhāpur
Ś'āhānas.

One of the many titles used by the Ś'āhānas was *Srinan-Mahā-lakṣmī-lubdhā-vara-prasāda*, i. e. "one who has obtained the favour of a boon from the glorious Mahālakṣmī." Mahālakṣmī was thus their tutelary deity, and they were clearly the followers of the Purāṇic and Vedic religion; but they patronized both Brāhmanas and Jainas alike; and their impartiality is strikingly displayed by the fact noticed above of Gaṇḍarāditya's having placed an idol of Buddha, whose religion had well nigh become extinct, along with those of the gods worshipped by the other two sects, on the margin of the tank dug by him.

There are at the present day many Marāṭhā families of the name of Selāra reduced to poverty, and the name Selāravādī of a station

¹ Major Graham's Ins. Nos. 6, 7, 8, the grant, and Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note.

² There are, however, some mistakes here in the transcript of the grant and the sense is not clear, though it appears pretty certain that it was the village that was granted and not a field in it or anything else, from the fact that the boundaries of the village are given.

³ Ins. No. 8, Major Graham's Report.

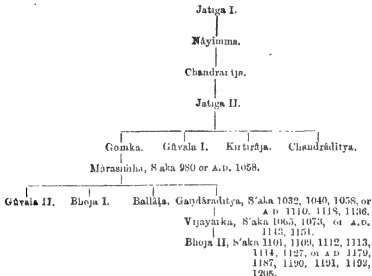
⁴ Ind. Ant., Vol. X., p. 76, note. The manuscript here mentioned is in the Dekkan College library and I have seen in it the colophon given in the note.

⁵ Vijayārka Chantia in Wilson & Mackenzie MSS., p. 320.

⁶ Sec. XV.

on the railway from Khandālā to Poona is also, I believe, to be traced to the family name of the sovereigns of Tagara. Section XVI.

Genealogy of the Śiḍḍhantas of Kolhapur.



APPENDIX A.

*Note on the Gupta Era.***Appendix A**

IN order to render the chronologies of the different dynasties that ruled over western and northern India in the early centuries of the Christian era mutually consistent, it is necessary to discuss the initial date of the Gupta era. Albiruni, who accompanied Mahmud of Ghizni in his invasion of Guparât in the early part of the eleventh century, states that that era was posterior to the S'aka by 241 years, and that it was the epoch of the extermination of the Guptas. He mentions another era named after Balaba, the initial date of which was the same as that of the Guptas.

Now in some of the inscriptions of the Gupta kings and their dependent chiefs the dates are referred to *Guptakâla* or the Gupta era, wherefore Albiruni's statement that it was the epoch of their extermination cannot be true. This error is regarded as throwing discredit on his other statement, *viz.*, that the era was posterior to the S'aka by 241 years. But it has nothing whatever to do with it. Albiruni must have derived his knowledge of the initial date from contemporary evidence, since the era of the Guptas was, as stated by him, one of those ordinarily used in the country in his time, and as his statements regarding the initial dates of the Vikrama and the S'aka eras are true, so must that with reference to the Gupta era be true. On the other hand, his information as regards the event which the Gupta era memorialized must have been based upon the tradition current among the Hindu astronomers of the day, who were his informants. Such traditions are often erroneous, as has been proved in many a case. Albiruni was also informed that the S'aka era was the epoch of the defeat of the S'aka king by Vikramâditya. This was the tradition as to its origin among Indian astronomers, though it has now given place to another. For Sôdhala in his commentary on Bhâskarachârya's *Karanakutôhala*, a manuscript of which more than four hundred years old exists in the collection made by me for Government during 1882-83, tells us that "the epoch when Vikramâditya killed Mlechhas of the name of Sakas is ordinarily known as the S'aka era." But we know that in Mañgalik's inscription at Bâdâmi it is spoken of as the era of the "coronation of the S'aka king"; that Ravikirti in the inscription at Athole describes it as the era of the S'aka kings and that it is similarly represented in many other places. Albiruni's error therefore as regards the origin of the Gupta era no more invalidates his statement as to its initial date than his error about the origin of the S'aka era does his statement about the initial date of that era. The only reasonable course for us under the circumstances is to reject the statement as to the era being an epoch of the extermination of the Guptas and accept that about the initial date of the era. But some antiquarians reject both these statements and accept what simply hangs on them and what must fall with them, *viz.*, that the Guptas were exterminated in Saka 242, and make elaborate endeavours to find an earlier initial date for the era. If the inscriptions show that the era was not posthumous but contemporaneous, we should rather believe that the Guptas rose to power in Saka 242, assigning its due value to the statement of Albiruni, which must have been based on contemporary evidence, that the era began in that year. But if instead of that we declare that they ceased to reign in Saka 242, we in effect reject contemporary evidence and accept a mere tradition which in so far as it represents the era to be posthumous has been proved to be erroneous.

Again, Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta era and of the Valabhi era was the same seems to some not "at all probable." To

my mind the improbability is not so great as to render valueless what clearly is contemporary evidence. We all know that the date occurring in a grant of one of the sons of the founder of the dynasty is 207, and we have a large number of grants of subsequent kings with dates posterior to this and in harmony with it. So that it is clear that these dates cannot refer to an era dating from the foundation of the dynasty. Such a long time as 207 years cannot be considered to have elapsed between the father who founded the dynasty and his son, even supposing him to have been a posthumous son. The dates therefore, are understood to refer to the Gupta era. What, then, could have been the Valabhi era, if it was never used by the Valabhi princes during the 275 years or thereabouts of the existence of their dynasty? An era cannot receive the name of a certain line of princes unless used by those princes, at least on a few occasions, and enforced. The era used by the Valabhi princes must be the Valabhi era. One certainly would expect that it should be so. The only supposition, therefore, on which the whole becomes intelligible is that the era introduced by the Valabhis in Surishtra and used by them was called the Valabhi era by their subjects, and not one dating from the foundation of the dynasty; for such a one, we see, was not used by the Valabhi princes themselves. The era introduced and used by the Valabhis was that of the Guptas, whose dependents they were in the beginning, and hence Albiruni's statement that the initial date of the Gupta and Valabhi eras was the same is true. From an inscription at Sonanâth discovered by Colonel Tod, we gather that Saka 242 was the first year of the Valabhi era. Hence, therefore, the initial date of the Gupta era was 242 Saka, as stated by Albiruni.

The question in this way is, I think, plain enough. Still since astronomical calculations have been resorted to to prove the incorrectness of the date given by Albiruni and to arrive at an earlier one so as to place the extinction of the Gupta dynasty in Saka 242, it is necessary to go into the question further. The following tests may be used and have been used to determine the correctness of a proposed initial date. —

1. The date of Buddha Gupta's pillar inscription at Eran, which is Thursday, the 12th of Âshadha, in the Gupta year 165.
2. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 156 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle of Jupiter being Mahāvaiśaka.
3. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 173 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāvayuja.
4. Rājā Hastin's inscription dated 191 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāchaitra.
5. Rājā Samkshobha's inscription dated 209 Gupta, the year of the 12-year cycle being Mahāvayuja.
6. An eclipse of the sun mentioned in the Morvi copper-plate grant dated 6th Phalguna Sudi 585 of the Gupta era.

Before applying these tests to the initial date given by Albiruni, it must be premised that according to the Arabic author the Gupta era was 241 years posterior to the Śaka. To convert a Śaka date into a Valabhi date, or which is the same thing, into a Gupta date, he tells us to deduct from it the cube of 6 and the square of 5, that is, 241. And proceeding to give actual instances, he says 953 Śaka corresponds to 712 Valabhi or Gupta. We have thus to add 241 to a Gupta date to arrive at the corresponding Śaka date. Again, as I shall show in Appendix B, in inscriptions the numerical date indicates, in a large number of instances, the number of years of an era that have elapsed, that is, the *past* year and in about a third of the instances, the *current* year. The year of the cycle, however, whenever it occurs, is as a rule the current year, though in rare cases that also is the past year. If, therefore, a past Gupta year is to be converted into

Appendix A

the current Śaka year, we shall have to add 242 to the former; while if both are current or both past, the difference between them is only 241.

Now, as to the first of the above tests, Gupta 165 + 241 = 406 S'aka. If Albiruni is correct, the 12th Āśādhā Sudi of this year should be a Thursday. I asked my friend Professor Kuru Lakshman Chhatre to make the calculation for me, and he tells me that it *was* a Thursday. Since our astronomical methods are based on the past S'aka year, and even our present S'aka year 1805 really represents, as I shall show in the next Appendix, the years that have elapsed, the current year being really 1806, Gupta 165 was a past year, as well as S'aka 406. Hence only 241 has to be added. S'aka 406 corresponds to 484 A.D. General Cunningham takes the Gupta 165 to correspond to 483 A.D., adding $240 + 78 = 318$ to it, and of course arrives at the result that "the 12th day of Āśādhā Sudi was a Friday instead of a Thursday." If, however, he had added $241 + 78 = 319$ and taken 484 A.D. to correspond to Gupta 165, he would have arrived at the correct result.

Then as to the dates in years of the 12-year cycle, General Cunningham himself has placed before us the means of verifying them. In the tables published by him in Volume X of the Archaeological Reports, the cyclic year corresponding to the current Christian year is given, and if we subtract 78 from the number representing the year, we shall arrive at the current S'aka year. Now, if we take the Gupta figured dates to represent the years that had elapsed before the cyclic year commenced, (and this way of marking the dates is, as remarked above, the one we usually find), then 173 Gupta, the third date in the above, corresponds to 414 S'aka *past* and 415 *current*, 241 being added in the first case, and 242 in the second. If we add 78 to 415 we shall get the current Christian year, which is 493. Now in General Cunningham's tables we do find the year *Mahās'rayajña* given as corresponding to 493 A.D. In the same way, 191 Gupta *past* + 242 = 133 S'aka *current*, + 78 = 511 A.D. *current*. In the tables we find 511 put down under *Mahāchaitra*. Similarly 209 Gupta *past* + 242 = 151 S'aka *current*, + 78 = 529 A.D. *current* which was *Mahās'rayajña*.

Now, as to the first of the dates in the 12-year cycle, 156 Gupta + 242 + 78 is equal to 476 A.D., which however is Mahāchaitra instead of Mahāvaiśākha. Here there is a discrepancy of one year; but such discrepancies do sometimes occur even in Śaka dates and the years of the 60-years' cycle given along with them, and some of them will be noticed in the note forming the next Appendix. They are probably due to the fact that the frequent use of the past or expired year and also of the current year led sometimes the *past* year to be mistaken for the *current* year, just as we now mistake the year 1805 S'aka for the current year, though it really is the completed or past year. Thus the completed year 157 must, in the case before us, have come to be mistaken by the writer of the inscription for the current year, and he thought 156 to be the past year and thus gave that instead of 157. Now $157 \text{ Gupta} + 242 + 78 = 477 \text{ A.D.}$, which is *Mahāvaiśākha*, according to the tables.*

* Though by using General Cunningham's table, I arrive at the desired result in three cases, still I now find that his current Christian year is derived by adding 78 to the past S'aka, while I have added 79; i.e., the cyclic year given in the dates is true not of the Gupta year in the date as a past year but of the Gupta year + 1 as a past year. And the third date 173 Gupta is a correction of General Cunningham's, the actual date in the inscription being 163. I have, however, allowed the paragraphs to remain, as I am by no means quite satisfied that the question of these cyclic dates is settled beyond dispute (1899).

The eclipse mentioned in the Morvi plate occurred, according to my friend Professor Keru Lakshman, on the 30th of Vaisākha, Śaka 827. The Gupta year given in the plate is 585. If 827 is in the astronomical calculation the *current* year, it must correspond to 585 Gupta *past*; for $585 + 242 = 827$. It is by no means necessary to suppose that the eclipse occurred on the new-moon day immediately previous to the 5th of Phālguna Sudi mentioned in the grant. For it is perfectly possible that the actual religious ceremony with reference to the grant was made in Vaisākha and the deed executed in Phālguna.*

I have thus shown that Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era stands all these tests. It may even be said that it stands them better than 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Clive Bayley respectively. But I am loath to decide such questions simply on astronomical grounds; for there are several very confusing elements involved, and a modern astronomer cannot know them all and make allowance for them.

It now remains to notice the last point relied on by the opponents of Albiruni. The date on a copper-plate grant by the last Śilāditya of Valabhi hitherto known is 447. This Śilāditya is also styled Dhruvabhata in the grant and has been identified with the Tu-lu-va-po-tou or Dhruvabhata of Hwan Tshang who visited Valabhi in 640 A.D. The date 447 is understood as referring to the Gupta era, and, 319 being added it, corresponds to 766 A.D. It has therefore been argued that an earlier initial date must be assigned to the Gupta era so as to bring this Śilāditya or Dhruvabhata nearer to the date of Hwan Tshang's visit. But the identification of the last Śilāditya with Hwan Tshang's Dhruvabhata cannot stand. In the Si-yu-ki the Chinese writer does not speak of a king but of *kings*, and says they were nephews of Śilāditya of Mālvā and the younger of them named Dhruvabhata was son-in-law to the son of Harshavardhana. If they were nephews of the king of Mālvā they were brothers and both of them kings. Now, the predecessor of the last Śilāditya of Valabhi was his father, and among the kings of Valabhi we do not find brothers reigning in succession at this period. There were two brothers who occupied the throne before this period, one of them being named Dharasena and the other Dhruvasena. They were the sons of Kharagraha, and the younger of them was the father and predecessor of Dharmasena IV. This younger brother or Dhruvasena must have been Hwan Tshang's Dhruvabhata. Nothing important is involved in the suffix *Bhata*. It was a mere title or honorific termination as Pant and Rāv are among us the Marāthās. Sena, Sinha, and Bhata were the Valabhi honorific endings and they could be used promiscuously. The king spoken of in the plates as Dhruvasena may have been called Dhruvabhata by ordinary people, from whom Hwan Tshang must have got the name. Now, a copper-plate grant of Dhruvasena bears the date 310, and the earliest date of his successor Dharasena IV. is 326. The first corresponds to 629 A.D. ($310 + 241 + 78 = 629$), and the second to 645 ($326 + 241 + 78 = 645$). It is quite possible, therefore, that Dhruvasena was on the throne in 640 A.D. at the time when Hwan Tshang visited Valabhi.

* There was an eclipse also in Śaka 826 on the new-moon day of Kārttika; so that Gupta 586 *past* + 241 = 826 Śaka. This is evidently the eclipse mentioned in the grant and not that mentioned in the text. On the whole question see my paper on the epoch of the Gupta era, Jour. B. B. & A. S., Vol. XVII, p. 90.

Appendix A.

The initial date mentioned by Albiruni is thus consistent with everything with which it has been thought to be not consistent. I have shown that the statement of the Arabic writer is in itself entitled to our confidence, being based, as it must have been, on contemporary evidence, as his statements about the S'aka and Vikrama eras were. I will now show that the date mentioned by him is alone consistent with the information we possess as regards the relations of the several dynasties that ruled over Gujarāt and Kāthiāwād in the early centuries of the Christian era, and the dates proposed by General Cunningham and Sir E. Olive Bayley are not. We know that the Guptas succeeded the Satraps, and the Valabhis were at first dependents of the Guptas and afterwards attained independence. Chandragupta II. must have been the Gupta prince who overthrew the Satraps, since he is the first prince of that dynasty whose silver coins are a close imitation of those of the Satraps. The latest date of that monarch is 93. This corresponds to 260 A.D. and 283 A.D. on the supposition that the Gupta era took its start in 167 A.D. and 190 A.D. respectively. Now, the latest date of the Satrap dynasty is 804. If the era to which it refers is the S'aka, it corresponds to 382 A.D., that is, we shall have to suppose one of the princes of the dynasty to have reigned about a hundred years after the dynasty had been put an end to by Chandragupta II. The S'aka era will therefore not do. Supposing the Satrap dates refer to the Vikrama era, 304 corresponds to 248 A.D., which of course is consistent with Chandragupta's date 260 A.D. or 283 A.D. If then the Satrap dates refer to the era of Vikrama, Rudradāman's 72 must correspond to 16 A.D. Rudradāman's grandfather Chashtana will have to be placed about B.C. 4. But Ptolemy, writing after 150 A.D., tells us that Ujjayini was ruled over about the time when he wrote by Tiastenes, who has been very reasonably identified with Chashtana. Ptolemy's information cannot certainly be 150 years old. It has, however, been argued that Ptolemy does not state that Tiastenes reigned about the time when he lived, and that he and Siro Polemios were contemporaries. For, he gives the information in the form of two short notes, "Ozone, the royal residence of Tiastenes," and "Baithana, the royal residence of Siro Polemios." Such notes it is possible that one should write even if the princes reigned several hundred years before him, as a modern geographer may mention Berlin as "the capital of Frederick the Great," or Ghizni as "the capital of Mahmud." As to this I have to observe that the analogy does not hold good. A modern geographer and his readers are very well acquainted with past history, while neither Ptolemy nor those for whom he wrote could have known the past history of India. A modern geographer knows which of the princes that ruled over a certain country in past times was the ablest or most powerful, and selects him out of a number and mentions his name in connection with a certain place. It is extremely improbable or almost impossible that Ptolemy should have known many Indian princes who reigned before he lived, along with their achievements, and should have chosen the ablest of them for being mentioned. And, as a matter of fact, we know that one at least of the rulers mentioned by him could be a person of no importance. For Balocuro who according to him held power in Hippocura was, as we have seen, but a Viceroy or dependent of Pulumayi and Gotamiputra Yajña Sri, since as Vilivayakura his name occurs along with those of the two princes on the Kolhāpur coins. Again, Ptolemy must have derived his information from merchants carrying on trade with India and these from the natives of the country. And we know that natives of India care very little for past history and

soon forget their kings. Hence the information derived by the merchants cannot have reference to princes who reigned long before the time of Ptolemy. It is possible that Indians may remember a celebrated prince for a century or two. But, as stated above, one of the rulers mentioned by Ptolemy was but a dependent sovereign and could not have been a man of note. The only other supposition that our opponents may resort to, is that Ptolemy's statements were based on those of previous geographers whose contemporaries the princes mentioned by him were. No ground whatever has however been adduced in support of such a supposition. In the *Periplus* which was written before Ptolemy, Paithana and Ozene are mentioned, but Polemios and Tiastenes are not. On the contrary, the author of that work says that Ozene was "formerly the capital wherein the king resided." If Tiastenes lived before him, and Ptolemy's mention of the former was due to his having been a prince of note like Frederick the Great and Mahmud of Ghizni in modern times, we should expect the author of the *Periplus* to have noticed him, especially when he does allude to the kings of Ozene. Tiastenes, Polemios and Baleocuros must thus have reigned about the time of Ptolemy. The last two were, we know, contemporaries, and so also must the third have been.

In this manner the Vikrama era will not do for the Satrap dates. Besides, no trace whatever has hitherto been discovered of the use of that era in the early centuries of Christ. Since, then, the use of no other era at the time has been well authenticated, the Satraps must be supposed to have employed the S'aka era. The circumstances of the country at that period render, as I have shown, the establishment of this era by the S'akas who ruled over the country in every way probable. The latest Satrap date will thus correspond to 382 A.D., and Chandragupta, the conqueror of the Satraps, can be rendered posterior to this only by taking 242 S'aka current or 319-320 A.D. as the first current year of the Gupta era; for his 93 *past* will then correspond to 412-413 A.D. And in this way Rudradāman's 72 will correspond to 150 A.D.; and Chashtana's date will be about 130 A.D., i.e. anterior to the date of Ptolemy's geography by about 25 years.

Thus, then, the evidence in favour of Albiruni's initial date for the Gupta era appears to me to be simply overwhelming.

APPENDIX B.

Note on the S'aka dates and the years of the Bārhaspatya cycle, occurring in the Inscriptions.

Appendix B.

THERE are certain difficulties with reference to the S'aka dates and the cyclic years or *Samvatsaras* occurring in the inscriptions which require to be cleared up. The current S'aka year (A.D. 1883-84) in the Bombay Presidency is 1805, and the year of the sixty years' cycle, *Subhānu*. In the southern provinces and the Madras Presidency the current S'aka year is 1806, the cyclic year being the same. The first question, then, is, "Do the dates in the inscriptions conform to the Bombay reckoning or the Madras reckoning?" and the next, "What is the cause of this difference of a year?"* We have also to consider whether the S'aka dates in the inscriptions represent the number of years that have expired before the event recorded in them or the current year in which the event took place.

Mr. Robert Sewell of the Madras Civil Service gives in the first column of the Chronological Tables compiled by him the number of the S'aka years that have expired before the beginning of the cyclic year set against it in the same line in the third column. The current S'aka year corresponding to that cyclic year is the one given in the next line in the first column. Thus against S'aka 855, the date of the Sāngali grant of Govind IV. of the Rāshtrakūṭa dynasty, we have in the third column the cyclic year *Vijaya* which shows that 855 years of the S'aka era had expired before the *Vijaya* year began, while the current S'aka year corresponding to *Vijaya* was that given in the next line, *viz.* 856. Mr. Sewell follows the Madras reckoning. If we interpret the tables according to the Bombay mode, the S'aka year appearing in the first column will be the current year corresponding to the cyclic year in the same line in the third column, while the number in the line immediately above will represent the years that have expired before the beginning of that cyclic year. Thus against 1805, the current S'aka year on this side of the country, we have in the third column the current cyclic year *Subhānu*, while 1804 in the line above shows the number of years that have expired. By comparing the S'aka dates and cyclic years occurring in the inscriptions with those in the tables we shall be able to determine the points raised above.

In the analysis of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese inscriptions published by Dr. Fleet and Dr. Burgess there are 97 cases in which the S'aka date as well as the cyclic year are distinctly given. On comparing these with the tables I observe that in 58 out of these the given S'aka date occurs in the same line with the cyclic year mentioned in the inscription. These are :—

* It will be obvious to any careful reader that the manner in which the question here proposed for solution is stated, is based upon the ordinary view that S'aka 1805 was the current year in 1883-84. I have no right to assume in the beginning of my inquiry that the ordinary view is mistaken, and it would be unscientific to do so. But having stated the question in that manner, I come at the end of my inquiry to the conclusion that the ordinary view is incorrect, and that 1805 S'aka was not current in 1883-84 A.D. but past, and that the Madras way of understanding the matter alone is correct. In the previous note also I have stated that "we now mistake the year 1805 S'aka for the current year" (in 1883-84); so that there is no possibility whatever of anybody misunderstanding my meaning.

Nos. 18, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 28, 29, 35, 36, 37, 38, 52, 70, 87, 88, 90, 92, 98, 99, 101, 102, 109, 114, 123, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 131, 134, 136, 141, 148, 149, 150, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 183, 189, 201, 214, 215, 219, 229, 230 (first part), 240, 241, 243, 283, 286.

Thus in inscription No. 20, the date given is 1200, and the cyclic year the *Bakudhanya*, both of which occur in the same line set against each other in the tables.

In 28 cases the S'aka date given in the inscription occurs in the tables in the line below that in which the given cyclic year occurs. These are :—

Nos. 19, 22, 26, 33, 34, 47, 72, 89, 91, 95, 96 (first part), 96 (second part), 100, 110, 111, 112, 118 (first part), 118 (second part), 146, 151, 194, 227, 230 (second part), 231, 234, 236, 237, 281.

In No. 19, for instance, the S'aka date is 1184 and the cyclic year *Durmati*. In the tables, *Durmati* occurs in the upper line set against 1183, and 1184 is in the line below, and *Dandubhi* is the year marked against it.

Now on the supposition that the inscriptions conform to the Madras reckoning, in the first 58 cases the S'aka date represents the number of S'aka years that *had expired* before the current cyclic year of the inscription and in 28 it shows the *current* year of that era. If we suppose the Bombay reckoning to have been in use, the dates in the first 58 cases will represent the current year and those in the next 28, the *future* year and not the *past*. But since it is almost absurd to suppose that the immediately next year should be stated in the inscriptions, it follows that the Madras mode of reckoning was the one in use. The objection, however, may be obviated by supposing that these 28 cases conform to the Madras reckoning and give the current year, while the first 58 follow the Bombay mode. But this supposition is not reasonable or probable, since these groups are not confined to particular provinces, and often one of the former exists in the same district or even place with one of the latter. We thus see that though in the majority of cases the inscriptions give the *past* S'aka year, there is a large number in which the *current* year is given and not the *past*.

I have also compared other dates with the tables, and the result I give below :—

	S'aka date.	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Kanarese grant of Govinda III.			
Rashtakūta ...	726	Subhann ...	Current year.
Rādhāpur grant of do. ...	730	Narvajit ...	Do.
Krishna II or Akilavarsha, completion of the Jaina Purāna ...	830	Piṅgala' ...	Do.
Do., in a Jaina temple by Chikārya ...	824	Dandubhi ...	Years elapsed.
Govind IV., Sāṅgali grant ...	855	Vijaya ...	Do.
Kakkala, Karda grant ...	894	Angura ...	Do.
Tailapa's accession ...	895	S'rimukha ...	Do.
Satyāśraya, Khāreptān plates of Raṭṭa ...	930	Klika ...	Do.
Jayasimha Jagadekamalla, Miraj grant ...	946	Baktākahi ...	Do.
Mārasimha Sūlāhara of Kolhāpur, grant ...	980	Vilambha ...	Do.

Appendix B.

	S'aka date	Cyclic year.	What the S'aka date represents.
Gaṇḍarāditya Śilāhāra of Kolhāpur, Ins. No 1.	1032	Vikṛiti ...	Years elapsed,
Do, do, grant trans-			
lated by Paṇḍit Bhagvānlāl ...	1032	Virodhin ...	Current year.
Do, Kolhāpur Ins. No. 2 ...	1040	Vilambin ...	Years elapsed.
Vijayārka do, do. No. 4 ...	1065	Dandabhi ...	Current year.
Someśvara III, Bhūlokaṃalla, Abbi-			
laahita Chintāmaṇi ...	1051	Saumya ...	Years elapsed.
Bhojadeva II, Kolhāpur Ins. No. 6 ...	1101	Vilambin ...	Current year.
Do do, ,, No. 8 ...	1112	Sādhārāja ...	Years elapsed.
Do, Dr. Taylor's grant ...	1113	Virodhin ...	Do.
Do, Kolhāpur Ins. No. 8.	1114	Paridhāvin ...	Do.
Śiṅgharā Yādava, Khedrāpur Ins. ...	1136	Śrīmukha ...	Current year.
Kāmādeva Chālukya ...	1182	Baudra ...	Years elapsed.
Mahādeva Yādava, Paṇḍharpur Ins.	1192	Framoda ...	Do.
Rāmachandra Yādava, Thānū	1194	Āṅgiras ...	Do.
Do, do, do. ...	1212	Virodhin ...	Current year.

Out of these 24 dates, eight give the current year and the rest the years that had expired, the proportion being the same as in the other case, *viz.* 1 to 2. In all cases in which the cyclic year is given it is possible to determine whether the date represents the current or past year, but not in others. The inscriptions of the early Chālukyas do not give it, and hence the exact date remains doubtful.

Now the Bombay mode of reckoning, which is one year behind that prevalent in Madras, is, I believe, due to a mistake. We have seen it was more usual in recording a date to mark the years that had expired than the current year. A word expressive of that sense such as *gatcchu*, "having elapsed," was used after the number, and another such as *pravartamaṇa*, "being current," was used in connection with the name of the cyclic year. These words were, for brevity's sake, afterwards dropped; and in the course of time the sense, to express which they were used, was also forgotten, and the number came to be regarded as denoting the current year. So that what we do on this side of the country is that we use the *past* or *expired* year without knowing that it is the *past* year. And there are in the inscriptions instances of mistakes due to the circumstance that the real *past* year came to be regarded as the current year. Thus in No. 86 of the Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānārese inscriptions, S'aka 911 is given along with the cyclic year Vikṛiti. Now, according to the tables, the number of years that had expired before Vikṛiti was 912 and the current year was 913. This discrepancy is to be explained by the supposition that S'aka 912 which represented the years that had expired came to be thought of as the current year, just as we, on this side of the country, consider 1805 as the current year now, though it indicates the past year, and the writer of the inscription wishing to give the years that had expired before his current year, put them as 911. The same is the case with Nos. 27, 67, 115, 130, 224, and 284, the S'aka dates in which are 1444, 1084, 1430, 1453, 1114, and 1128, respectively, and are two years behind the current year as determined by the cyclic years given along with them. In some cases the S'aka dates are in advance of the *Sameśvara* or cyclic year by one year. Thus in the Vani-Diṇḍori grant of Govinda III. the S'aka date is 730 and the *Sameśvara Vyaya*, and in the Kānheri inscription of Amoghavaraha we have S'aka 775 and the *Prajāpati Sam-*

vatsara. Now the S'aka years immediately preceding Vyaya and Prajāpati were 728 and 773, while the current years were 729 and 774 respectively. This difference might be accounted for on the supposition that the *current* years 729 and 774 were from the usual custom understood to be *past* years and the writers of the documents desirous of giving the *current* years added 1 and put them down as 730 and 775. The date in No. 79 of Pāli, Sanskrit, and old Kānarese inscriptions is three years behind the current Sainvatsara, and that in No. 228, four years; No. 221 has 1113 for 1121; and No. 246, 1492 for 1485. These must be considered to be mistakes.

The S'aka dates given in the preceding pages represent in *most* cases the years that had expired before the particular occurrences mentioned. Thus "in 855" means *after 855 years of the S'aka era had expired*.

Appendix B.

HISTORY OF

APPENDIX C.

Introduction to Hemādri's Vratakhanda.

Appendix C.

In the critical notes D. represents the MS. in the Dekkan College Library, No. 234 of A. 1881-82; D 2. another recently added to the collection; S. the MS. belonging to the old Sanskrit College, No. 657; Kh. the MS. belonging to Khāsgivāle, and G. the MS. procured by Gaṅgādhara Śāstri Dātar. See Section XIV., first page, note 2.

• श्रीगोपालमपारवैभवभवस्वच्छन्दलीलालयं
सान्द्रस्निग्धतमालकोमलदलस्यामाभिरामकृतिम् ।
कूजत्कोकिलकामिनीकलरक्वमोह्यासिगोपाङ्गना-
गीतस्फीतपवित्रचित्रचरितवातं नमस्कर्महे ॥ १ ॥
उन्मीलत्कमनीयकान्तिसरसीमध्ये विभूद्रप्रभं
सारासारविचारचारुमनसा हंसेन संसेवितम् ।
नित्यानन्दपरागसङ्गसुमगं वन्दारुवृन्दारक-
श्रेणीभङ्गमनङ्गवैरिचरणभोजद्वयं पातु वः ॥ २ ॥

* These two stanzas exist only in a mutilated form in S. and D 2, but they occur fully in D and Kh which contain the shorter Praśasti. In G., which contains both the Praśastis mixed together, they occur at the head of the shorter one, so that they appear to belong to the latter rather than to the other.

१ सङ्ग for भङ्ग D. Kh. २ नः for वः D Kh.

Rājapraśasti I.

जीया^१नूतनभूतसर्गसमयाविर्भावसंभावना-
तुन्यत्तल्पभुजङ्गपुङ्गवशिरश्रेणीशतैर्वेन्दितः ।
कल्पान्तोपरमेष्ठु नाभिकमले प्रोहामसामस्वर-
स्वैरोच्चारणचारणायितविधिव्याभूतानिद्रो हरिः ॥ १ ॥
अस्ति प्रशस्तं पुरुषोत्तमस्य शय्यागृहं क्षीरमयः पयोधिः ।
यदीयपीयूषरसायनेन स्वलौकभाजामजरापरत्वम् ॥ २ ॥
संतानचिन्तामणिकामधेनुकल्पद्रुमश्रृङ्गजनैकहेतोः ।
सिन्धोरमुष्मादुद्भूदमन्दनिस्यन्दमानासृतविन्दुरिन्दुः ॥ ३ ॥
ततस्तद्वज्रं विबुधप्रधानं बुधं सुधादीधितिरेप्यसूत ।
बभूव तस्मादप्यचक्रवर्ती पुरुरवाः पुण्यपथानुवर्ती ॥ ४ ॥
अभजत जनिमत्स्मादायुरायुः प्रजानां
नपुषपदनिदानं ज्योतिरासीत्ततोपि ।

१ जायान् ० S. जीवन् ० G. २ अल्प ० S. तुल्य. G. ३ ० मानो G. मानी S. ४ प्रतापं
for प्रधानं G. ५ १ वा ० for पथा ० S. D 2. ६ जन् S. D 2. जसि G. for जनि.

नृपतिरथ यथातिः स्यातिमानप्यमुष्मा-
 दयमपि यद्गृहीतं कीर्तिमाविशकार ॥ ५ ॥
 यदोरदोषविशदैर्दशोभिरभिज्ञोभितः
 अन्धबायः स एवायमवाप यदुर्वशताम् ॥ ६ ॥
 ततः क्रोष्टा तस्मादजानि वृजिनीवानपि नृप-
 स्ततो जज्ञे राज्ञः क्षितिपतिरिह स्वाहित इति ।
 नृशकुस्तत्पुत्रः समभवदधो चित्ररथ इ-
 त्यतो जातः स्यातः स किल शशबिन्दुर्नरपतिः ॥ ७ ॥
 ततः पृथुभवा वीरस्तदनन्तरमन्तरः ।
 ततः सुयज्ञ उशनाः सितियुरिति च क्रमान् ॥ ८ ॥
 स्रुदस्तस्य मरुत इत्यनुपमः प्रोहामदोर्विक्रम-
 स्तस्मात्कम्बलवर्हिर्ज्वल्यशःप्रक्षालितस्मात्तलः ।
 एतस्मादुदियाय रुक्मकवचस्तस्मात्पराजिन्मृ-
 स्तस्माद्भूरितुंगमेघसुकृतौ राजाजनि ज्यामयः ॥ ९ ॥
 ततो विदर्भः कथकुन्तिवृष्णिनिवृत्तिसङ्घाः परतो दशार्हः ।
 व्योमा न जीमूत इति क्रमेण जाता नरेन्द्रा विकृतिश्च वीरः ॥ १० ॥
 तदनु भोमस्यः पृथिवीपतिर्नवरथश्च ततो रथिनां वरः ।
 दशरथः शकुनिश्च करम्भिरित्युपादिशन्ति पुराणपरायणाः ॥ ११ ॥
 देवराजस्ततः श्रीमान्देवश्वस्ततो मधुः ।
 ततः कुरुबलो राजा पुरुहोत्रः क्रमादभूत् ॥ १२ ॥
 अथायुरासीदथ सात्वतोभूदथान्वकोत्साहजमानसंघः ।
 विदूरथस्तत्परतोपि शूरराशिः प्रतिश्रुत इति श्रितीशः ॥ १३ ॥
 बभूवथ स्वयंभोजस्ततोपि इदिकोभवत् ।
 असूत सोपि धर्मात्मा राजानं देवमीदृशम् ॥ १४ ॥
 निम्बिशनिःशेषितवैरिपूरस्ततः क्षिति पालयति स्म शूरः ।
 ततोपि राजा वसुदेवनामा यो विश्वहेतोःपि हेतुप्रासीत् ॥ १५ ॥
 बृन्दुर्बृन्दुदारकवृन्दमालिमन्दारमालासुरभीकृताङ्किः ।
 आसीदमुष्मादसुपवतारभारापहराय पुरा सुरारिः ॥ १६ ॥

१ मूर्तिः S. D २. मूर्ति G. २ स्याहित S. स्ताहित G. ३ यशः S. G. ४ मेधि S. G.
 ५ व्योमावृ S. व्योमाव G. व्योमाव D २ ६ देवरातः D २. ७ नाम for राजा G. ८ सत्वतो D २.
 ९ अन्धकस्मां G. S. १० So both MSS., also D 2. But there must be a mistake. The name
 of Śakra's son शोणि is disguised as राशि. Perhaps the reading is शूरशोणी. ११ पुरा सुरारिः
 १२. सुरारिः D 2.

Appendix C.

बभूव प्रमुष्मन्ः किल कुसुमधन्वा मधुरिषो-
 स्त्रिलोकावीरासी तनयमनिरुद्धं मष्टपुत्रे ।
 ततो भूभृत्पक्षश्चपणनिपुणेनैव महसा
 परिस्फूर्जन्वच्च^१ शतमत्सस्त्रं प्रादुरभवत् ॥ १७ ॥
 वक्षस्य सूनुः प्रतिबाहुप्रासीदासीकृतक्षमापतिचक्रवालः ।
 ततोपि सम्बाढभवत्सुबाहुः प्राप्तुत सोयं चतुरस्तनूयान् ॥ १८ ॥
 तेन ते सार्वभौमेन तनया विनयाग्विताः ।
 विभज्य वसुधाचक्रं चक्रिरे पृथिवीश्वराः ॥ १९ ॥
 यथाविभागं वसुधामशेषां तेषां तदा पालयतां चतुर्णां ।
 दृढप्रहारां दिशि दक्षिणस्यां प्रमुर्षभूव प्रबभात्कनीयान् ॥ २० ॥
 सर्वेपि पूर्वं मयुराधिनाथाः कृष्णादितो द्धारवतीश्वरास्ते ।
 सचाहुसूनोरनु दक्षिणाशापशासिनो यादववंशवर्धराः ॥ २१ ॥
 ततः स राजा निजरात्रधानीमधिष्ठितः श्रीनगरं गरीयः ।
 लभे मुतं सेउणचन्द्रसङ्गं यत्सङ्ख्या सेउणदेशमाहुः ॥ २२ ॥
 अथ धाडियसो महीपतिस्तनयस्तस्य बभूव भिङ्गमः ।
 अजनिष्ट ततोपि राजगिस्तदनु प्रादुरभूत्स बाहुनिः ॥ २३ ॥
 जज्ञे धाडियमस्ततः प्रतिभटक्षमापालकालानल-
 स्तस्मादाविरभूत्प्रभूतविभवो भर्ता सुवो भिङ्गमः ।
 एतस्मात् महसा महानिधिरसी श्रीवैसुगिर्जज्ञिवात्
 हता भीष्मभुजो जसाममुद्ददां तस्मादभूदह्नः ॥ २४ ॥
 अजलमाविष्कृतदानवारिः प्रभूतहस्ताभितदानवारिः ।
 ततः स राजा विरराज राजश्रियो विलसैजितराजराजः ॥ २५ ॥
 आसीद्विलासी नृपतेरमुष्मात्स भिङ्गमः पञ्चवितोरुर्कार्तिः ।
 स बाहुनिः स्वाहुगिरां कवीन्मं स्तोत्रैकपात्रं भवति स्म तस्मात् ॥ २६ ॥
 ततो मही महीपालः पालयामास वेसुगिः ।
 स हतप्रोचदुद्रामधामसामन्तसंततिः ॥ २७ ॥
 ततोपि नृपभिङ्गमः समरसीमभीमक्रिया-
 निरमैलभुजागैलायुगलकाललीलालयः ।

१ स्व for एव D 2. २ परिस्फूर्जन्वच्च S.; G. totally incorrect and there is a lacuna. D 2, has वज्युः for वज्युः of S. 3. The Purānic genealogy ends here. Subāhu, however, is there called Suchāru. ४ दायवतां D 2. ५ राक्षसिस्तदुत D 2. ६ स बाहुनिः S. सुबाहुदुगः G. ७ This is the reading of S., D 2 and G. probably for धाडियस. But the name according to Pandit Bhagvānāla's grant was धाडियस. ८ S. and G. have a wrong and unintelligible reading here. ९ पाव S. पावै G. for पात्रं. १० The visarga is dropped in S. and G. ११ संहत D 2.

ततः समदमेदिनीपतिपत^१त^२भूवतः

प्रतापशिखिल^३द्वित्रिजगद्गुणः सेतुणः ॥ २८ ॥

समुद्रतो येन महाभुजेन द्विषां विमर्दात्परमदिदेवः ।
आस्थापि चालुक्यकुलप्रदीपः कल्याणराज्येपि स एव येन ॥ २९ ॥

परम्पदेवः स ततो बभूव द्विषद्वधूनेत्रचनाम्बुवृष्टौ ।

प(ऐ) रम्पदेनेव रुचां चयेन यस्य प्रतापेन चिरं व्यराजि ॥ ३० ॥

तरमादनन्तरमनन्तभुजप्रतापः क्षोणीपतिः समभवत्स ह सिंहराजः ।

तस्यानुजस्तदनु भुवलयं बलीयानन्नायत त्रिजगतीविजयां स राजा ॥ ३१ ॥

लज्जीपुरात्समानाय कर्पूरतिलकं गजम् ।

स कर्पूरजतं पूर्णमकरोत्परमर्दिनः ॥ ३२ ॥

तरमादप्रतिमल्लोभूत्मल्लगिर्वैजभः श्रितः ।

उद्वभूत जम्भारिर्भूरिदोर्दण्डचण्डिमा ॥ ३३ ॥

आसाद्य सद्यः स्वनिवासहेतोः श्रीपर्णसेतं नगरं रिपुभ्यः ।

अहारि येनोत्कलभूमिपालाडुनुकुमातडुवडा हटेन ॥ ३४ ॥

तरमादमरगाड्येय संबभूव भुवः पतिः ।

अधाविन्दत गोविन्दराजः साम्राज्यसंपदम् ॥ ३५ ॥

ततो मल्लगिपुत्रो भूदृपालोमरमल्लगिः ।

अथ कालीयबह्वालः पालयामास मेदिनीम् ॥ ३६ ॥

महीपतेस्तस्य विहाय पुत्रान् युगानुरक्ता यद्वंशलक्ष्मोः ।

श्रीभिक्कमं तस्य ततः पितृव्यमव्याजराजद्वुजमाजगाम ॥ ३७ ॥

यः श्रीवर्धनमाससाद नगरं क्षोणीपतेरन्तलात्

यः प्रत्यण्डकभूषटं च समरे दुष्टं व्यज्रेष्ठ ज्ञणात् ।

यो वा मङ्गलवेष्टकं श्रितिपार्तं श्रीविहङ्गं जप्रिवान्

कल्याणश्रियमप्यवाप्य विदधे यो होतकेश व्यस ॥ ३८ ॥

१ S. G. have लंघितः त्रिन० २ समुद्रतो D 2. ३ जता for घना S. G. ४ Hore's ends, and the following is based on G. and D 2, of which the former is, as I have already observed, an extremely incorrect manuscript. ५ ० प्रतापं G. ६ सहि सिंहि G. ७ This word in G. must be some mistake as it has no significance here. D 2. has तुषामु which also is a mistake. ८ नभित for मर्दिनः G. ९ G. has मुल्लगि १० स्वनिवास is सन्निवाह in G. ११ आहारि D 2. १२ मुल्लगि D 2. १३ ०लोपर D 2. १४ स D 2. for बाः १५ रंतलात् for रंतलात् G. १६ वजिण for विहङ्गं G. १७ G. has नसु and D 2. व्यस for व्यस.

Appendix C

स दण्डिकामण्डलमण्डविश्रीमकम्पसप्तमवैविलासैः ।
 चक्रे पुरं देवगिरिं गिरिशपसादसंसादितदिव्यशक्तिः ॥ ४९ ॥
 तदनु मदनमूर्तिं कार्तिकीचन्द्रसान्द्र-
 युतिविशदयशोभिः शोभिताशावकाशः ।
 अभवदुवाविपालो जैवपालः कराल-
 पहरणरण्डनुडनुडस्वहः ॥ ४० ॥
 दक्षिण्य रणरंडदेवयजने प्रोदस्तशस्त्रखुवः
 श्रेणीभिर्गतापताङ्कनवता येन प्रतापानले ।
 निष्ठुङ्गाधिपते पशोर्विशसनं रौद्रस्य रौद्राकृतेः
 कृत्या पुरुषमेधयज्ञविधिना लब्धस्त्रिलोकीजयः ॥ ४१ ॥
 तस्मादभुदमिनवरमरचारुमूर्ति
 कीर्त्तये पदं स किल सिद्धदेवभूयः ।
 उण्डदोर्धुमलगावितवीरिचर-
 सामन्तिनीवदनकरवचण्डभानु ॥ ४२ ॥
 येनार्णयत मनवारणघटा जज्जलभूमिभृत्
 ककलादवनीपतेरपहता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ।
 येन क्षोणीभृद्वनोपि बलिना नातः कथाशेषतां
 येनोदामभुजेन भोजनपति काराकुटम्बीकृतः ॥ ४३ ॥
 यद्रम्भागिरिकेसरं विनिहतो लक्ष्मणरः क्षमापति-
 र्यद्वाहावलिभिः प्रसन्न रुरूपे धाराधराधरः ।
 बङ्गालक्षितिपालपालितभुवां सर्वोपहारश्च यः
 श्रीमिहस्य महोपतेर्विजयते तङ्गालर्वालायितम् ॥ ४४ ॥
 कृष्णो महादेव इति प्रतापी जाती ततः सिद्धवत्स्य पीत्नी ।
 तयोस्तु पूर्वप्रभव परस्तात् कृष्णोतिविख्यातमतिरूपोभूत् ॥ ४५ ॥
 येनाकारि विशालवीसलचमूस्सहारकालानले
 हेलोत्पलितमूलराजसमरे निर्वीरमुर्धतलम् ।
 येनानेकमहाफलकतुकृता संवर्धमानोनिश
 क्षीण कालवशात्पुनस्तर्णतां धर्मोपि संप्रापितः ॥ ४६ ॥

१ In the MSS. we have प्रसादमासादितः, २ G. has विकासः for अवकाशः. ३ रणर-
 गस्तुंगडुत्तंग. D 2. ४ तङ्गिग in G. ५ रौद्रस्य ought to be रुद्रस्य, unless the son of Rudradeva
 is meant. ६ कीर्त्तये for मूर्तिः D. 2. ७ This line is thus written in G. सीमंतविनीदनकै-
 रवचन्द्रभासान्; also in D 2. except त् for last व. ८ यद्वाहारिग G. ९ विनिहतो G. १०
 लालित for पालित G. ११. यङ्गाल G. १२ क्षीणे G.

ततः कृष्णे राजन्यमरतरुणीचामरमर-
सररुहनुदं दिशि किमपि तेजः श्रितवति ।

परित्राता भूमेः समजनि जगज्जित्वरमहा^१
महादेवः सेवा रसिकसकलरुमाश्रिततुत ॥ ४७ ॥

तिष्ठन्नक्षितिपालत्वनियमपक्षेपचण्डानिलो
गर्जद्गर्जरगर्वपर्वतमिदादम्भोलिदोविक्रम ।

हेलोन्मूलितकीडगक्षितिपतिः कर्णाटलाटोद्धट-
क्षोणीपालविडम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ ४८ ॥

यो भोजदेवान्द्रुपतेः प्रतापी जमाह् वाहं मदमन्दसत्त्वः^३ ।
सार्धं जनन्या सहजीवितेन सोमेश्वरस्यापि जहार राज्यम् ॥ ४९ ॥
यदीयमन्धद्विपगण्डपालीनिष्ठयुतदानाम्भुतरक्षिणीषु ।

सोमः समुद्रव्रवपेशलोपि ममज्ज सैन्यैः सह कुङ्कुणेश ॥ ५० ॥

सामोहकनमेव यस्य जगतां संहार इत्युच्यते
कुङ्के वज्रधरेपि यः क्षितिश्रुतं मैनाकमवायत ।
रमारं रमारममुष्य द्दुःसहमहःसंदोहदावानलं
तेनाम्भोनिधिनापि कुङ्कुणपतिर्नारक्षि कुक्षिस्थितः ॥ ५१ ॥

बाहानामपि यस्य वैरिविषयेष्वातन्वतां घन्विना (ता^१)
मातिष्ठिद्वष्टाड्णादनुदिनं वाक्पादिलालभवत् ।

यस्तस्यैव रणे जहार करिणस्तत्पञ्चशब्दादिकान्
यस्तस्याज वधूवधाद्वपरतस्तद्भुजं रुद्रमाम् ॥ ५२ ॥

Rājaprasasti II.

वंशो हिमांशोर्जयति प्रसिद्धो यस्मिन्स राजा यद्वराविरासीत् ।
बभूव यस्मिन्सुरावतारभारापहाराय पुरा छुरारिः ॥ ३ ॥
वंशे तस्मिन्कंसविध्वंसनस्य क्षोणीपालो भिद्यमः प्रादुरासीत् ।
निन्ये नाशं वैरिभूत्पतङ्गान्यस्यानेकद्वीपदीपः प्रतापः ॥ ४ ॥

१ This महा is omitted in the MSS. since it is followed by another महा, and the copyists mistook the one for the other. The compound is to be dissolved as जगतो जित्वरं जगज्जित्वरम् । जगज्जित्वरं महा यस्य स जगज्जित्वरमहाः. २ चूल for तूल D 2. ३ मदमन्दसत्त्वः which is also the reading of D. 2, as an epithet of Mahādeva, involves censure instead of praise. The correct form of the word is, probably, मदमन्दसत्त्वात्, in which case it would be an epithet of Bhojadeva. 4 After this follow stanzas 14 and 10 of the next Prasasti in D 2.

Appendix C.

नमीभवत्सकलराजसमाजमौलीमाणिस्यदीधितिबिबोधितपादपद्मः ।
उरामदर्परिपुसर्पविहङ्गराजः श्रीमिहमादवनिषेजनि जैत्रपालः ॥ ५ ॥

तरमादभूदभिनवस्मरचारुमूर्तिः कीर्तिः पदं जगति सिङ्गणदेवभूषः ।

उहण्डदेयुगुलगावितवैरिवर्गसीमन्तिनीवदनकैरवचण्डभातुः ॥ ६ ॥

अथ सकलकलानामालयः पालनाय क्षितितलमवतीर्णः पौर्णमासीशशीव ।
अभवदवनिपालो जेतुगिर्नाम तरमादसमसमरधीरद्वेषिभूपालकालः ॥ ७ ॥

स भूमिपालो जनयांवभूव कृष्ण महादेवमहोपाति च ।

हिताय लोकस्य यथा पयोधिभिन्तामणि कौस्तुभमप्युदारम् ॥ ८ ॥

जन्मान्तरोत्थं परिवर्तयती ज्येश्ठवरत्नं किल कौतुकेन
कृतावतारी यदुत्तमवंशे प्रीत्या पुनस्ताविव रामकृष्णौ ॥ ९ ॥

धर्मार्थाविव तौ साक्षात्पालयन्तौ वसुधराम ।

विलोक्य लोकः सरमार राजानौ रामलक्ष्मणौ ॥ १० ॥

दृष्ट्वासाधुनवाजिचारणश्रीणीपु जित्वा बहून्
दासीकृत्य तथापरान्वितवानन्यानरण्यीकसः ।

इत्थं पार्थिवराजराजिजिज्यव्यापारपारंगत-

क्षके शक्रजयाय कृष्णवृषति स्वलोकयात्रामतम् ॥ ११ ॥

अथ प्रभावातिशयेन लब्धं विभज्य लोकद्वितयाधिपत्यम् ।

विविधप शासति कृष्णभूप भुवं महादेववृषः प्रशस्तित ॥ १२ ॥

तैलङ्गक्षितिपालनूलनिचयप्रक्षेपज्ञानिलो

गर्जदूर्जरग्वर्षवतमिदादम्भोलिदोर्विक्रमः ।

हैलान्मलितकौङ्कणक्षितिपतिः कर्णोटलाटोद्भट-

क्षोर्णपालविहम्बनः स हि महादेवः कथं वर्ण्यते ॥ १३ ॥

अयं शिशुखीशरणगतानां हन्ता महादेववृषा न जानु ।

इत्थं विनिश्चित्य ततोतिर्भार्तरुध्रैः पुरन्ध्रा निहिता वृषत्वे ॥ १४ ॥

अत एव हि मालवेश्वरः शिशुमेव स्वपदे न्यवेशयत् ।

स्वयमाशु विहाय संपदः कपटेनैव चिरं तपस्यति ॥ १५ ॥

विषमसमरकर्तुं शत्रवो यस्य पाणी

प्रलयदहनधूमस्यामधामातिर्नामम् ।

पृथुतरकरपालव्यालमालोकयन्तो

भव शरणमितिर्गमन्त्रमुच्चारयन्ति ॥ १६ ॥

१ युगल Kh. २ चन्द्रभातुः D. & Kh. चण्डभातुः G. ३ यात्रां मतः Kh. ४ तक्षिण Kh. & G. ५ प्रोक्षेप Kh. क्षोक्षेप G. ६ चंबानिलो Kh. & G. ७ णलाटोद्भवक्षोणी Kh. णलाटोद्भवः क्षोणी G. ८ इत्थं विनिश्चित्यतो विभर्तैरुध्रैः Kh. विनिश्चित्य D. ९ हिमाचलेश्वर G. १० न पश्यति for तपस्यति G. ११ पाणेः Kh.

यदीयगन्धद्विपगण्डपालनिष्ठगूतदानाम्बुतपङ्क्तिणीषु

सोमः समुद्रवपेशलोपि ममञ्ज सैन्यैः सह कुडणेशः ॥ १७ ॥

एतत्प्रतापो बहिरम्बुपशैरीर्वातरेप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि ।
चिरं विमृश्येति यदीयवैरी सोमेभ्यो वाढवमेव यातः ॥ १८ ॥

आस्ते मण्डितदण्डकापरिसरः श्रुतिउणाख्यः परं
देशः पेशलवेश भूषणवचोमाधुर्यधुर्पाकतिः ।
तस्मिन्देवगिरिः पुरी विजयते त्रैलोक्यसारथियां
विश्रान्तिः मुरशालिशैलशिखरस्पर्धिष्णुसीधायलिः ॥ १९ ॥

जगत्प्रीतिगीतगुणप्रशस्तिः शास्ता समस्तावनिमण्डलस्य ।
श्रीमानिमामन्वयराजधानी सोयं महदेववृषो विभर्ति ॥ २० ॥

कूर्बन्विभूतिविस्तारिरिलातृत्तममभियम् ।
अधितिष्ठति हेमादिरिमां विवृण्वान्धवः ॥ २१ ॥

सा संपन्नदिदं यशो बलमिदं सोयं प्रतापो महा-
नैकेकं पुषिणीभृतो भुवि महादेवस्य लोकोत्तरम् ।
यस्य श्रीकरणाधिपः स्वयमयं हेमाद्रिसूरिः पुरः
प्रीदप्रातिभवपर्यमानविलसद्वंशो भृशं शोभते ॥ २२ ॥

इति राजप्रशस्तिः ॥

१ सैन्यैः G. २ राशेरन्तः पुरोप्यस्ति कुतः प्रयामि D. प्रयासि Kh. ३ सेवलाख्यः D. सेवगाख्यः Kh. The middle letter of the name in G. looks somewhat like ट, but there is little question that the copyist had उ before him and made it appear like ट by producing the nether curve and making its end touch the knot of उ. ४ स्पर्धाळु D. ५ तस्य D 2. ६ अहं for अयं D 2.

वीर सेवा मन्दिर

पुस्तकालय

954.8 BHA

मात्र नं०

लेखक Bhandarkar, Ramkrishna Gopal.

शीर्षक

Early History of the Dehkan

शीर्षक

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क्रम सख्या

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